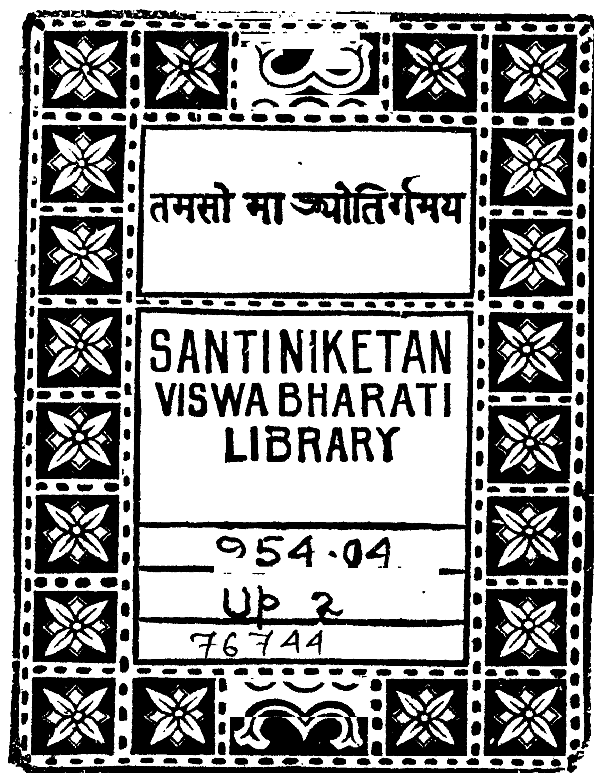


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THE BEGINNINGS OF INDIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY
AND
OTHER ESSAYS

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OTHER WORKS BY THE SAME AUTHOR

A HISTORY OF HINDU POLITICAL THEORIES FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY A.D. (2nd edition, Oxford University Press, 1927). Rs. 8/-

ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE IN AFGHANISTAN (Bulletin of the Greater India Society No. 5, Calcutta, 1928). Re. 1/-

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF THE HINDU REVENUE SYSTEM (University of Calcutta, 1929). Rs. 5/8/-

THE AGRARIAN SYSTEM IN ANCIENT INDIA (University of Calcutta, 1930). Rs. 2/8/-

PROGRESS OF GREATER INDIAN RESEARCH, 1917-1942 (Calcutta, 1943). Rs. 4/-

HINDU PUBLIC LIFE FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ACCESSION OF THE MAURYA DYNASTY. (*In preparation*).

PREFACE

In the present work I have brought together some results of my researches extending over a number of years into various branches of the history and culture of Ancient India and its colonies. Some of the topics taken up in this volume were discussed previously by scholars of undoubted distinction. But it seemed desirable, in view of the importance of the subjects concerned, to deal with them afresh somewhat more fully and critically than heretofore. The subject-matter of the remaining Essays, it is believed, is being treated here for the first time.

Because of the variety of their types as well as the extent and duration of their course, if not for their other qualities, the Ancient Indian chronicles and dynastic lists as well as sacred biographies and ecclesiastical annals should have deserved, it would seem, the serious attention of scholars long ago. Nevertheless it is a fact that a comprehensive and critical account of Ancient Indian Historical literature has yet to be written. Elsewhere I have attempted to fill in some of the chapters of this unwritten volume by contributing critical studies of early biographies of the Buddha as well as of the dynastic chronicles of Kashmir and Bāṇa's chronicle of King Harṣa (See *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. XVII, No. 2, June 1941: *Ibid.* Vol. XVIII, Nos. 3-4, September and December 1942; *Ibid.* Vol. XIX, Nos. 1-2, March and June 1943, *Indian Culture*, Vol. I July-September 1942). The same object has led me to describe in the First Essay of the present work the oldest types of Indian historical compositions as revealed in the Vedic literature.

The inscriptions of Aśoka, supplemented by the legends of the great Emperor and a few later references, constitute an ample mass of valuable data for reconstructing the History of India at one of the peaks of its civilization. Nevertheless, their interpretation presents numerous difficulties even after a century of study and research. In the Second Essay I have sought to consider the views of a number of scholars regarding various aspects of Indian constitution and administration in the time of the Great Maurya.

For an adequate survey of the social and economic history of Ancient India it is essential to take stock of slavery in a mild form as one of its recognised institutions. In the Third Essay I have attempted to trace the history of this institution from the times of the Vedic Saṃhitās to those of the later Smṛtis. The opportunity has been taken in this connection to draw a complete comparison and contrast between the attitude of the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Dharmaśāstra* towards slavery.

Questions regarding the position of the king, the influence of popular assemblies, the king's ownership of the soil and the like, are of fundamental importance from the point of view of the constitutional history of Ancient India. In the bulk of the Fourth Essay I have to examine two important recent interpretations of Hindu theories of the origin of Kingship as well as of the evolution of Vedic monarchy. The remaining portion of this Essay is occupied with the criticism of another view relating to the general character of Ancient Indian monarchy. In the following Essay I have tried to consider two recent views dealing with the much discussed problem of the composition and functions of Vedic Assemblies. Mention may be made in this

connection of the Thirteenth Essay in which I have attempted to discover, from a thorough analysis of Vedic coronation rituals and their dogmatic exposition, the points of constitutional significance embodied therein. A close scrutiny of a new interpretation of three texts usually taken to support the case for the king's sole ownership of the soil has been attempted in the Sixth Essay.

For a critical and connected account of Ancient Indian administration it is essential that the large number of technical terms and titles with which it abounds should be accurately explained as far as possible. In the Seventh Essay I have endeavoured to unravel the precise significance of a number of such terms and to distinguish, where necessary, between their different connotations at different periods of history.

While the political history of Ancient Bengal has been more or less thoroughly explored in recent years, there are still big gaps left in our knowledge of its economic and religious history. In the Eighth and Ninth Essays it has been attempted to fill two such gaps. In the former case evidence has been culled especially from a number of *Ratnaparīkṣā* works to indicate the mineral wealth of Ancient Bengal. In the latter case a unique terracotta plaque from the old Buddhist shrine at Paharpur has been held on the strength of extensive as well as varied archaeological and literary evidence to illustrate for the first time a well-known ritual of the Śākta cult within the limits of this Province.

The publication of the unique chronicle of King Rāmapāla by the late Mm. Hara Prasad Sastri, which for the first time illumined a dark corner in the late eleventh-century history of Bengal, has given rise to an extraordinarily keen controversy

about the leading actors of that drama. In the Tenth Essay I have attempted to deal as fully and impartially as possible with these figures and to indicate the significance of the revolution in which they played their part.

It is a historical truism to assert the intimate relation between the archaeology of Greater India and that of its home-land. So close indeed is this contact that frequently the key to the interpretation of the former is to be found in the latter. On the other hand the types of antiquities represented by the former are often helpful in throwing light upon the characteristics of the latter. In the Eleventh Essay I have sought to identify in the light of various Indian *Śilpaśāstra* texts a unique temple-type referred to in a Cambodian inscription of the ninth century A.D. In the following Essay the various types of Lokeśvara images found in Indo-China have been compared, as far as possible, with their prototypes on the Indian soil.

It has often been the fashion to divide the history of India into a number of broad chronological periods. While ordinarily these divisions are characterised as 'Hindu,' 'Muhammadan' and 'British,' they are sometimes given as 'Ancient,' 'Mediaeval' and 'Modern.' A still greater diversity of opinion exists as regards the dividing-line between the different periods. In the Fourteenth and concluding Essay these different views have been subjected to a close scrutiny and an attempt has been made to arrive at the proper solution.

Of the fourteen Essays comprised in this volume, the third part of No. I (*Vedic Historical Traditions*), the second and third parts of No. IV and lastly No. V (*On the Nature and Functions of Vedic Assemblies*) and No. XIII (*Vedic Cere-*

monies of Royal and Imperial Consecration and their Constitutional Significance) are published here for the first time. The remaining Essays (or parts of Essays) appeared in various *Journals* and *Proceedings* of learned Societies during the last twenty years and are now brought out in a revised and up-to-date form. Thus the Third Essay was published in the *Calcutta Review*, Third Series, Vol. XIV, February 1925. The first part of the Fourth Essay appeared in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. I, Nos. 2-3 (June and September 1925) and the Sixth and Second Essays in Vol. II, No. 1 (March 1926) and Vol. VI, Nos. 3 and 4 (September and December 1930) of the same Journal. The Seventh Essay is made up of four parts published respectively in *Proceedings and Transactions of the Fourth All-India Oriental Conference* (Allahabad 1928), *Proceedings and Transactions of the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference* (Patna 1930), *Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar Commemoration Volume* (Madras 1936) and *Proceedings and Transactions of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference* (Trivandrum 1940). The Eighth and Tenth Essays originally appeared in Bengali, the first being contributed to the Festschrift (*Haraprasad Samvardhana Lekhamālā* Part II, Calcutta 1339 B.S.) presented to the late Mm. Pandit Hara Prasad Sastri by his friends and admirers on his 75th birthday, while the latter was published by the *Divya Smṛti Samiti* as the writer's Presidential Address at the Third Annual Session of the Divya Commemoration Celebration in 1343 B.S. The Fourteenth Essay was published in the *Modern Review*, Calcutta Vol. XLIX, No. 4 (April 1931). The Eleventh Essay, which was read by the writer at the Eighth International Congress of Historical Sciences

(Zurich, 1938), was published in the *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. VII, No. 2 (July 1940), while the Twelfth Essay appeared in Vol. V, Nos. 1 & 2 (January and July 1938) of the same Journal. The Ninth Essay was published in the *Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Session of the Indian History Congress*, Calcutta 1939. Of the First Essay, the first two parts were published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1-2 (March & June, 1942).

I have to apologise to my readers for the number of misprints (especially as regards transliterations from the Sanskrit) which has crept into this work. The more serious of these errors have been corrected at the end. It is also regretted that there has been some want of uniformity as regards the transliteration of Indian proper names.

My acknowledgments are due to the editors of various periodicals and *Proceedings* of learned Societies from which many of these Essays as above-mentioned have been reproduced, to the Directors and staff of the Calcutta Oriental Press Ltd. for the uniform courtesy extended to me throughout the printing of this work, and to my son Mr. R. K. Ghoshal, M.A., for the preparation of the Index.

In conclusion it is my earnest hope that the following pages will form the starting-point of fresh discussions facilitating a closer approach towards solution of the numerous knotty problems of Indian and Greater Indian History and Culture presented in this volume.

GREATER INDIA SOCIETY,
Calcutta,
24th March, 1944.

U. N. GHOSHAL

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The Beginnings of Indian Historiography

1. THE *VAMŚAS* AND *GOTRA-PRAVARA* LISTS OF VEDIC LITERATURE

The ceremonies of the Vedic sacrificial ritual, which form the entire subject-matter of the later *Saṃhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, almost necessarily implied a long succession of teachers through whom they were handed down from the most ancient down to comparatively recent times. It is to the period of the *Brāhmaṇas* which exhibit the first systematic expositions of the sacrificial ceremonies that we can trace back the oldest genealogical lists (*vaṃśas*) of Vedic teachers and their pupils. The *Vaṃśa Brāhmaṇa* forming a separate branch of the Sāmaveda school has a *vaṃśa* consisting of not less than sixty names beginning with a teacher called Vaiśrava and traced back through its last human teacher Kaśyapa to the gods Agni, Indra, Vāyu, Mṛtyu, Prajāpati and Brahman the Self-existent One.[1] Two separate *vaṃśas* are found in the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* (III, 40-42 and IV, 16-17) likewise belonging to the Sāmaveda school. One of these has fifty names beginning with Brahman and ending with Vaipaścita Dārḍhajayanti Gupta Lauhiteya, while the other consists of fourteen names only, beginning with Indra and ending with Sudatta Pārāśarya. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, forming the concluding portion of

1 See the list in H. Zimmer, *Studien zur Geschichte der Gotras*, pp. 31-32. The lists in Max Müller, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Pāṇini Office ed., pp. 233-234, and Weber, *Indische Studien* IV, 371 ff., give fifty-nine names omitting the last name Vaiśrava.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, has two *vaṃśas* (*Ibid.*, II, 6 and IV, 6) of fifty-eight and sixty names respectively, which agree with each other in several parts. The list begins with Pautimāṣya and ends with Brahman.[2] The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* (VI, 5) has another *vaṃśa* consisting in the Kāṇva recension of two lists, one of fifty-two names and the other of forty-eight only. These lists of which the first thirty-six have all names ending in metronymics agree with each other up to a teacher called Sāṃjīvīputra beyond whom they diverge into separate branches.[3] This has been plausibly explained[4] on the supposition that Sāṃjīvīputra united two lines of teachers, one of which is traced back through Vāc (the Goddess of speech), Ambhiṇī (the voice of thunder) to Āditya (the sun), while the other is carried back through Prajāpati to Brahman. To illustrate the character of these *vaṃśas,* it will be sufficient to quote one example, that of the shorter list in the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* which we give below in Oertel's translation [*JAOS.*, vol. XVI, Part I, 1894, pp. 214-15]:—

"Verily thus Indra told this *udgītha* of the *Gāyatrasāman*, the *Upaniṣad*, the immortal, to Agastya, Agastya to Iṣa Śyāvāśvi, Iṣa Śyāvāśvi to Gauṣūkti, Gauṣūkti to Jvālāyana, Jvālāyana to Śāṭyāyani, Śāṭyāyani to Rāma Krātujāteya Vaiyāghrapadya, Rāma Krātujāteya Vaiyāghrapadya to Śaṅkha Bābhravya, Śaṅkha Bābhravya to Dakṣa Kātyāyani Ātreya, Dakṣa Kātyāyani

2 For the two lists in the Kāṇva recension, see Max Müller's tr. of the *Upaniṣads,* Part II, *SBE.*, vol. XV, pp. 118-120, 185-188. For comparison with the parallel versions in the Mādhyandina recension as well as for comparison of the two first-named vaṃśas, see *Ibid.*, 118-120*n* and pp. 186-187*n*.

3 For the list in the Kāṇva recension, see Max Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-227. For comparison with the Mādhyandina version, see *Ibid.*, p. 224*n*. The second list is wanting in the Mādhyandina text, but a very similar one is found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa,* X, 6. 5. 9.

4 Max Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

Ātreya to Kaṁsa Vārakya, Kaṁsa Vārakya to Suyajña Śāṇḍilya, Suyajña Śāṇḍilya to Jayanta Vārakya, Jayanta Vārakya to Janaśruta Vārakya, Janaśruta Vārakya to Sudatta Pārāśarya."

We may next mention a *vaṃśa* given at the end of the late *Śāṅkhāyana Āraṇyaka* of the *Ṛg Veda.*[5] This consists of eighteen names beginning with Guṇākhya Śāṅkhāyana and ending with Brahman, the Self-existent One. Lastly, we may refer to the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* of the *Atharva Veda* which opens with a short list of seven teachers beginning with Brahman and ending with Śaunaka Mahāśala.[6]

If we have now to judge the historical value of the *vaṃśas*, we must admit at the outset that the highest links in the chain consist of names of deities like Agni, Vāyu, Indra and, last but not the least, Brahman. But the remaining and by far the more considerable portions of these lists consist of human teachers. On general as well as particular grounds the names and succession of human teachers may be accepted as a historical fact. It is now generally admitted that the period of the Brāhmaṇas from the very nature of their subject-matter and the range as well as variety of their literature must have extended over many centuries.[7] To this must be added the fact that many of the names of teachers in the main portions of the lists are actually quoted as authorities in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and similar

5 See Appendix to A. B. Keith, *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, pp. 327-328, Anecdota Oxoniensia, Aryan Series, Part IX, Oxford 1909.

6 See *SBE.*, vol. XV, p. 28.

7 Cf. M. Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol I, pp. 194-195:—"We are compelled to assume a period of several centuries for the origin and propagation of this literature. ....The sacrificial science itself requires centuries for its development." Cf. also *Ibid.*, p. 302.

texts. What is more, some of these personages are evidently singled out as taking an outstanding share in the development of the doctrine.[8] Without therefore going so far as to say with Max Müller[9] that "with the exception of the highest links in each chain of teachers the lists have an appearance of authenticity rarely to be met with in Indian compositions," we may state that they certainly reach a high degree of historical probability. It has, however, not been possible as yet to fit in the long and formidable lists of the *vaṃśas* into the Vedic chronological scheme.

We may pause here to indicate the importance of the part played by the late *Brāhmaṇa* schools of the *Sāma Veda* and the *Yajur Veda* in the creation of the *vaṃśa* lists. In the *Brāhmaṇas* of the *Ṛg Veda* and the *Atharva Veda,* as in those of the *Sāmaveda* and the *Yajurvedas,* individual teachers are often cited as authorities on various parts of the ritual.[10] But neither the *Aitareya* nor the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* belonging

8 Cf. Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 29*n.*:—"Die Rolle abschliessender Autorität der genannten Personen für die einzelnen Texte ergibt sich aus der Häufigkeit und Art der Anführung ihrer Meinungen, durch die diese als unwidersprochen und endgültig erscheinen." He justifies his statement by the example of Yājñavalkya who is quoted eighteen times in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* as compared with nine quotations of the next frequently cited teacher Āruṇi and who twice figures as the last and the most conclusive of a triad of quoted authorities. He also refers to Śāṭyāyani who is quoted seven times in the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* as compared with Baka Dālbhya and Brahmadatta Cāikitāneya who come next with two quotations each.

9 *Op. cit.*, p. 229.

10 Thus as Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 29*n.*, points out, Kauṣītaki is cited fourteen times and Paiṅgya nine times in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa,* while several times *Kauṣītaki* follows *Paiṅgya* in the order of authorities cited. For the references see also Keith, *Ṛg Veda Brāhmaṇas, HOS.*. vol. xxv, p. 24*n.*

to the *Ṛg Veda* school, nor earlier *Brāhmaṇas* of the *Sāmaveda*, nor even the earlier portions of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, have preserved *vaṃśa* lists. It is only in the late Brāhmaṇas of the *Sāmaveda* and later portions of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* that the oldest *vaṃśas* have as yet been found. Probably the growing scepticism about Vedic sacrificial ritual, of which we have indications in the Brāhmaṇas themselves and which was to culminate in the revolt of Buddhism and Jainism, led the priestly authors of the late Brāhmaṇa texts to justify themselves with the weight of formidable authority going back to the gods.[11]

In the later Vedic texts of the *Gṛhyasūtras* the lists of teachers are brought into relation with the domestic ritual. Among the daily duties binding on the Snātaka (would-be householder) and the Gṛhastha (householder) are included bathing and Vedic study. An essential appendage of these ceremonies or of one or other of them is the *tarpaṇa* rite.[12] The *tarpaṇa* consists in satiating deities, sages and manes with offerings of water. To take one example, *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-sūtra* (III. 4. 1-5) begins with a list of thirty-one deities, Prajāpati, Brahman, the Vedas, the Devas, the sages and so forth, to whom the water should be offered by the householder. Then follows a list of sages consisting in the first instance of a group of twelve names which have been identified with those of seers

11 For some evidence about disintegration of the Vedic religion in the Brāhmaṇa period, see Keith, *Ṛg Veda Brāhmaṇas*, pp. 25-26.

12 For different views of the relation of *tarpaṇa* to bathing and Veda study, see Oldenberg, *SBE.*, vol. XXIX, pp. 120-121*n.*; P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, pp. 668, 695.

of various *maṇḍalas* of the *Ṛgveda.* Then comes a number of sages including teachers of *sūtras, bhāṣyas,* etc. as well as Kahola, Kauṣītaki, Aitareya, Āśvalāyana and so forth who are teachers well-known to the *Brāhmaṇa, Āraṇyaka* and related works.[13] Similar, but not identical, lists are found in other Gṛhyasūtras and even in one Dharmasūtra.[14]

A great gulf separates these late lists from the *vaṃśas* of the *Brāhmaṇa* texts. In the older lists the human teachers were evidently regarded as historical personages whose names and order of succession it was necessary to record correctly as proof of genuineness of the teaching. In the later accounts the teachers have risen to the rank of semi-divine personages to be venerated along with groups of deities and manes. It was therefore no longer necessary, as the above examples testify, to transmit the names in genealogical succession. The lists in fact consist of a jumble of ancient as well as modern teachers from the remote times of the *Ṛg Veda* to the late period of the *sūtras.* It is characteristic of the looseness of these later accounts that even the teachers' names are needlessly duplicated.[15]

Next to the *vaṃśas* and other lists of teachers in the Vedic texts may be mentioned the family genealogies indicated by

13 For a summary of the above list, see Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 690-91.

14 See *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, IV, 9-10, tr. *SBE.*, vol. XXIX, pp. 121-123; *Śāmbavya Gṛhyasūtra* quoted, Weber, *Indische Studien* XV, 154; *Hiraṇyakeśi Gṛhyasūtra,* II, 19, 20; *Baudhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, III, 9; *Bharadvāja Gṛhyasūtra*, III, 9-11, also *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra,* II, 5 etc. For discrepancies between these authorities, see Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 692-693.

15 Cf. the duplications Kauṣītaki and Mahākauṣītaki, Paiṅgya and Mahāpaiṅgya, Aitareya and Mahaitareya, Audavāhi and Mahaudavāhi—in the *Āśvalāyana Gṛhya* list above referred to.

the terms '*gotra*' and '*pravara*.' These may roughly be translated as 'family' or 'lineage' and as the illustrious ancestors who have contributed to the credit of the same.[16] *Gotra* in its technical sense occurs already in an *Atharva Veda* text (v, 21. 3) where it clearly means 'a group of men connected together by blood.' References to *pravara* under the name *ārṣeya* and to *pravara* sages are found in some texts of the *Ṛg Veda*.[17] Systematic lists of *gotras* and *pravaras*, however, make their appearance only in the late *Śrautasūtras*, those handy manuals that were composed in later times for dealing with the great mass of the Śrauta sacrifices.[18] By way of illustration, we quote below from the excellent work of P. V. Kane (*op. cit.*, p. 490) the *gotra* and *pravara* divisions of two of the most renowned families, the Bhṛgus and the Āṅgirasas, as given in these ancient authorities:—

"The Bhṛgus are of two sorts, Jāmadagnya and non-Jāmadagnya. The Jāmadagnya Bhṛgus are again two-fold, Vatsas and Bidas (or Vidas), the non-Jāmadagnya Bhṛgus are five-fold, namely Ārṣṭiṣeṇas, Yāskas, Mitrāyus,

16 Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 497, explains the connection between *gotra* and *pravara* as follows:—"*Gotra* is the latest ancestor or one of the latest ancestors of a person by whose name his family has been known for generations, while *pravara* is constituted by the sage or sages who lived in the remotest past, who were most illustrious and who are generally the ancestors of the *gotra* sages or in some cases the remotest ancestor alone."

17 *Ibid.*, IX, 97. 51; VIII, 102. 4; I. 45. 3 etc. Cited in Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 479, 486-87.

18 Such lists are found for example in the *Śrautasūtras* of *Āśvalāyana*, Pt. II, VI, 10-15, (Bib. Ind. ed., pp. 875-885), *Baudhāyana* (Bib. Ind. ed., vol. III, pp. 415-467), *Āpastamba*, XXIV, 5-10, (Bib. Ind. ed. pp. 268-277). Besides the above Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 6, quotes the *Śrautasūtras* of *Kātyāyana* and *Laugākṣi*, while Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 483, cites the *Śrautasūtra* of *Satyāṣāḍha Hiraṇyakeśi* XXI, which gives the same list as *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra* with a few changes.

Vainyas and Śunakas. Under each of these subdivisions there are many gotras, on the names and numbers of which the Sūtrakāras are not agreed...These divisions of Bhṛgus are given here according to Baudhāyana. Āpastamba has only six of them, as he excludes Bidas from this group. According to Kātyāyana, Bhṛgus have twelve subdivisions.

"The Āṅgirogaṇa has three divisions, Gautamas, Bharadvājas and Kevalāṅgirasas; out of whom Gautamas have seven subdivisions, Bharadvājas have four and Kevala-Āṅgirasas have six sub-divisions, and each of these again is subdivided into numerous *gotras*. This is according to Baudhāyana. Other *Sūtrakāras* differ as to the sub-divisions......"

The *gotras* and *pravaras* were intimately connected with the social and religious system of the Vedic Aryans from an early period. To take a few examples, marriage was forbidden not only within the same *gotra* but also within the same *pravara*. As regards inheritance, property of a person dying without issue was vested in his near *sagotras*. Consecration of the domestic fire was preceded by invocation of one's *gotra* and *pravara* ancestors. In the ceremonies of tonsure and investiture with the sacred thread, there were minute differences of detail according to different *gotras* and *pravaras* of the boy's family.[19] It might therefore be thought that the genuineness of these lists was beyond question. Unfortunately the *Śrautasūtras* which are our primary sources contradict themselves not only as regards numbers of *gotras*, but also the names, numbers and order of succession within the same *gotra*.[20] From this it appears that there was no unanimity even as regards the number of the original *gotras*. In the appendix of his work (pp. 1263-1266), Kane, while giving after Baudhāyana a classified list of forty-

19 For details and references, see Max Müller, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-204; Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 481-483 and p. 491.

20 For a number of striking examples see Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 489-490, 495.

nine *pravara* groups and the *gotras* among which they are distributed, notices some striking divergences in the lists of Āśvalāyana, Āpastamba and Satyāṣāḍha. In his German translation of *Āpastamba Śrautasūtra*, Caland gives (*Ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 409-411), as an appendix to the *pravarādhyāya*, parallel lists of Ṛṣi genealogies from Āpastamba and Baudhāyana. When Zimmer (*op. cit.*, pp. 6-7) says with regard to these lists, "Dass sie sich widersprechen oder denselben Namen in mehreren Gruppen bieten, kommt nur vereinzelt vor," we must accept his view with great modifications. Even Puruṣottama, author of the *Pravara-mañjarī* which is the leading authority on the subject in later times, is quite emphatic about the discrepancies.[21] It would seem that a very long interval separated the beginnings of the *gotra* and *pravara* divisions from their systematic arrangement in the *Śrautasūtras*. Whatever that may be, we may safely conclude that these old genealogical lists have a substratum of historical reality.

21 See Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 483.

2. THE *GĀTHĀS* AND *NĀRĀŚAMSĪS*, THE *ITIHĀSAS* AND *PURĀṆAS* OF VEDIC LITERATURE

However authentic the genealogies of the Vedic religious teachers and the Vedic lists of *gotras* and *pravaras* might be, they would form at best a skeleton of historical compositions properly so called. A more definite approach to history is marked by some ancillary branches of learning known to the Vedic times, to which we now refer. These are the *gāthās* and the *nārāśaṃsīs* which may be roughly translated as 'epic song verses' and 'songs in praise of heroes' respectively.[1] Already in a passage of the late tenth book of the *Ṛgveda* (*Ibid.*, 85. 6), *gāthās* and *nārāśaṃsīs* are mentioned as distinct but evidently allied types of composition, though elsewhere *gāthā* is used in the more general sense of 'song.'[2] The *Atharva Veda*, (XV, 6. 3-4) mentions *gāthās* and *nārāśaṃsīs* as the last and evidently the least important of a series of enumerated texts.[3] The daily study of *gāthās* and *nārāśaṃsīs* (or *nārāśaṃsī gāthās*) following that of the Ṛk, the Yajus, the Sāman, the Atharvāṅgiras and other texts is enjoined upon the householder in solemn and moving words in the Brāhmaṇa and later works.[4]

1 *Cf.* Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. I, p. 226.

2 *Cf. Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, s.v.

3 The series runs as follows:—*ṛcaḥ, sāmāni, yajūṃṣi, brahman, itihāsaḥ, purāṇam, gāthāḥ nārāśaṃsyaḥ.*

4 Cf. *Śat. Br.*, XI, 5. 6. 4-8=*S.B.E.*, vol. XLIV, pp 96-98; *Taitt. Ār.*, II, 10, ed. Ānandāśrama Sansk. Series, vol. I, p. 144; *Aśv. Gṛ. S.* III. 3=*S.B.E.*, vol. XXIX, pp. 218-219. In these passages the various classes of texts are said to constitute as many forms of offerings to the gods, and their recitation is said to satiate not only the gods, but also the Fathers.

As forms of literary *genre,* though not as distinct branches of learning, the *gāthās* and *nārāśaṃsīs* have their parallels at least in part, in some hymns and portions of hymns in the Ṛgveda and Atharva Veda Saṃhitās. We refer, in the first instance, to the so-called Dānastutis ("Praises of Gifts"), which form the concluding verses of a number of Ṛgvedic hymns. Of these hymns it has been said by a competent authority:—

> "Some of them are songs of victory, in which the god Indra is praised, because he has helped some king to achieve a victory over his enemies. With the praise of the god is united the glorification of the victorious king. Finally, however, the singer praises his patron, who has presented him with oxen, horses and beautiful slaves out of the booty of war... Others are very long sacrificial songs, also mostly addressed to Indra, and they also are followed by verses in which the patron of the sacrifice is praised, because he gave the singer a liberal priestly fee."[5]

Another partial parallel is to be found in the so-called Kuntāpa hymns of the *Atharva Veda*[6] of which we give below a specimen in Bloomfield's translation[7]:—

> "Listen ye to the high praise of the king who rules over all peoples the god who is above mortals, of Vaiśvānara Parikṣit!
>
> "'Parikṣit has procured for us a secure dwelling, when he, the most excellent one, went to his seat.' (Thus) the husband in Kuru-land, when he founds his household, converses with his wife.
>
> "'What may I bring to thee, curds, stirred drink, or liquor?' Thus the wife asks her husband in the kingdom of king Parikṣit.
>
> "Like light the ripe barley runs over beyond the mouth (of the vessels). The people thrive merrily in the kingdom of king Parikṣit."

The *gāthās* and *nārāśaṃsīs* formed such a necessary accompaniment of Vedic sacrificial ceremonies that their recitation was incorporated in the rituals of some of the great sacrifices.

5 Winternitz, *op. cit.,* vol. I, p. 114.

6 *Atharva Veda,* XX, 127-136.

7 *S.B.E.,* vol. XLII, pp. 197-198.

We may illustrate this in the first instance from the example of the Aśvamedha which the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII, 2. 2. 1 aptly calls 'the king of sacrifices,' and which could only be performed by a victorious king or by a paramount ruler.[8] On a number of occasions during the course of the sacrifice provision is made for the recitation of *gāthās* by musicians in praise of the sacrificer. On the day of letting loose of the sacrificial horse the *vīṇāgaṇagins* (i.e., as explained by the commentator, the musicians who sang to the accompaniment of all sorts of lutes) are required to sing praises of the sacrificer along with those of just kings of ancient times. This was repeated daily during the whole year of the horse's wandering and was continued in the same way down to the day of the sacrificer's initiation (*dīkṣā*). Afterwards the musicians have to sing daily, as before, praises of the sacrificer along with those of the gods.[9] Towards the conclusion of the ceremony the musicians have to sing praises of the sacrificer along with those of Prajāpati.[10] Still more pointed reference is made to the contents of the *gāthās* in connection with some other portions of the ceremonial. On the day of letting loose the horse, a Brāhmaṇa lute-player (*vīṇāgāthin*) has to sing to the accompani-

8 For a detailed account of the sacrifice according to the texts of the White Yajurveda, namely *Vājasaneya Saṃhitā* XXII ff. *Śat. Br.* XIII, 1-5, *Kāty. Śr. S.* XX, *Āśval. Śr. S.* X, 6-10, see now the excellent work of P.-E. Dumont, *L'Aśvamedha*, Paris-Louvain, 1927. The appendix to this contains trs. of the Black Yajurveda version as given in *Āpast. Śr. S.*, XX, 1-23, *Baudh. Śr. S.*, XV, 1. 30 and some fragments of the *Śr. S.* of Vādhula.

9 See Dumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 40, 56, 68, giving full references.

10 Dumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 111, 126, 230.

ment of the *uttara-mandrā* (a kind of viṇā, according to the commentator) three stanzas composed by himself on such topics as 'he performed such and such sacrifice', 'he gave such and such gifts.' On the same day a Brāhmaṇa lute-player sings three *gāthās* similarly composed by himself and relating to the sacrifices and gifts of the sacrificer, while a Kṣatriya lute-player does the same on topics relating to the battles fought and the victories won by the sacrificer. This has to be repeated each day during the whole year.[11]

In the above, it will be noticed, reference is made to *gāthās* celebrating generally the sacrificer's praises along with those of ancient kings or of gods, as well as those specifically praising the king's achievements as a sacrificer and conqueror. Concrete instances of these types are found in a series of more or less parallel texts of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 5. 4. 1 ff.,) and *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta-sūtra* (XVI, 9) listing the famous kings performing the Aśvamedha sacrifice and of *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 21-23) enumerating the kings who performed the 'Great Consecration of Indra'.[12] To take a few examples, the *gāthā* quoted about king Janamejaya Pārikṣita is as follows:[12a]

11 Dumont, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 41-43, 304, 306.

12 A link between these two sets of lists is furnished by the fact that most of the kings performing the 'Great Consecration' are said in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* to have offered the horse sacrifice. Cf. the following:—"With this great anointing of Indra Tura Kāvaṣeya anointed Janamejaya Pārikṣita. Thereupon Janamejaya Pārikṣita went round the earth, conquering on every side, and offered the horse in sacrifice." *Ait. Br.*, VIII, 21, Keith's tr.

12a *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 21, Keith's tr. (*H.O.S.*, XXV, p. 336)=*Śat. Br.*, XIII, 5. 4. 2, and with slight variations *Śāṅkh. Śr. S.* XVI, 9. 1.

"At Āsandīvant, a horse grass-eating,
Adorned with gold and yellow garland,
Of dappled hue, was bound,
By Janamejaya for the gods."

Of king Marutta Āvikṣita the following *gāthā* is quoted:[12b]

"The Maruts as attendants
Dwelt in the house of Marutta;
Of Āvikṣita Kāmapri
The All-gods were the assessors."

The *gāthās* of Kraivya, the Pañcāla king, are introduced to us in the following way:[13]

"At Parivakrā, the Pañcāla overlord of the Krivis seized a horse meant for sacrifice, with offering gifts of a hundred thousand (head of cattle). A thousand myriads there were, and five-and-twenty hundreds, which the Brāhmaṇas of the Pañcālas from every quarter divided between them."

Lastly the *gāthās* about Bharata, son of Duḥṣanta, are as follows:[13a]

"Covered with golden trappings,
Beasts black with white tusks,
At Maṣṇāra Bharata gave,
A hundred and seven myriads.

The great deed of Bharata,
Neither men before or after,
As the sky a man with his hands,
The five peoples have not attained."

The verses about Janamejaya, Kraivya and Bharata just quoted evidently belong to the class of *gāthās* in praise of kings' sacrifices and gifts to which reference is made in the account of

12b *Ait. Br.*, VIII, 21. *Cf. Śat. Br.*, XIII, 5. 4. 6: *Śāṅkh. Śr. S.*, XVI, 9. 16.

13 *Śat. Br.*, XIII, 5. 4. 7-8 (Eggeling's tr.).

13a *Ait. Br.*, VIII, 23=*Śat. Br.*, XIII. 5. 4. 11 ff.

the Aśvamedha sacrifice mentioned above. On the other hand, the verse relating to Marutta Āvikṣita comes within the category of *gāthās* praising the kings along with the gods. Of another class of *gāthās*, those in honour of the gods, also referred to in the account of the Aśvamedha given above, it is unnecessary to speak in the present place. Concrete examples of this class are the Indragāthās ('songs in honour of Indra') to which reference is made in the *Atharva Veda* (xx, 128. 12-16) and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (vi, 32).

As in the case of the ritual of the Aśvamedha, the recitation of *gāthās* was made by some authorities part and parcel of the *gṛhya* sacrificial ritual. One of the important 'domestic' rites is the *Sīmantonnayana* ('parting of the hair') which is performed on the expectant mother in the fourth, sixth, seventh or eighth month of pregnancy. Here the husband has to ask two lute-players (*vīṇā-gāthins*) to sing about the king or anybody else who is still more valiant[14] or about king Soma.[15]

Like the *gāthās*, the *nārāśaṃsīs* are also found to be incorporated in some of the great sacrificial ceremonies. The *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta-sūtra*, in the course of its description of the Puruṣamedha sacrifice, mentions[16] a series of ten *nārāśaṃsīs* which are to be sung in regular cycles of ten day's duration. Each of these is accompanied by a short statement of its subject-matter and a reference to the corresponding hymns of the

14 *Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, I, 22, 11-12 and *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra*, I, 15. 7-8.

15 *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*, I, 14. 6-7.

16 *Ibid.*, XVI, 11, Bib. Ind. ed., pp. 205-6.

Ṛg-Veda. We give below a summary of these *nārāśaṃsīs* according to the short description of the original text:—

1. How Śunaḥśepa, son of Ajīgarta, was released from the sacrificial yoke,
2. How Kakṣīvant, descendant of Uśij, gained the gift from his patron,
3. How Śyāvāśva gained gift from his patron,
4. How Bharadvāja gained gifts from his two patrons,
5. How Vasiṣṭha became the Purohita of Sudās,
6. How Āsaṅga Plāyogi, being a woman, became a man,
7. How Vatsa, descendant of Kaṇva, obtained gift from his patron,
8. How Vaśa Aśvya gained gift from his patron,
9. How Praskaṇva obtained gift from his patron,
10. How Nābhānediṣṭha, descendant of Manu, obtained gift from Aṅgiras.

It will be observed that the list given above consists, with one exception, of praises for gifts received, or supplications to the deity for favours sought. The first and by far the more important class evidently falls into line with the *dānastutis* of the *Ṛg-Veda* already mentioned.

We may now consider the important and difficult question regarding the composition and authorship of the works under notice. In the account of the Aśvamedha given above, reference is made to *vīṇāgaṇins* (musicians) singing praises of the sacrificer as well as Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya *vīṇāgāthins* (lute-players) composing and singing songs in honour of the sacrificer's achievements. Evidently then there already existed at this early period a class of minstrels who not only preserved and handed down

but also composed songs in honour of human celebrities. This class, however, did not as yet form a closed caste or corporation, for individual Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya musicians could play the same *rôle*. Evidence is not lacking that a professional class of bards or minstrels had already emerged in the late Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa times. In the list of symbolical victims at the Puruṣamedha occurring in the *Vājasaneya Saṃhitā* (XIII) and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (III. 4) we find side by side the lute-player and the flute-player as well as the *māgadha* and the *sūta* so familiar in Epic and Puranic texts of later times. On the precise functions of the Vedic *māgadha* and *sūta* there is some difference of opinion,[17] though their Epic and Puranic successors stand for royal eulogists or panegyrists and sometimes for genealogists.[18]

The *gāthās* and *nārāśaṃsīs* occupy an important place in the development of Indian historical literature. Apart from the *gāthās* to the gods, they may be proved by references in the Vedic *Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* to relate to historical characters and incidents. Thus Janamejaya Pārikṣita of the Kuru line, Para Āṭṇāra king of Kośala, Marutta Āvikṣita king of the Pañcālas, and Bharata Dauḥṣanti of the great Bharata tribe are all conspicuously mentioned in the late *Saṃhitā* and *Brāhmaṇa* literature, and they no doubt belong to the same period. The references to Āsandīvant as capital of Janamejaya, and of Parivakrā as capital of Kraivya Pañcāla and to Nāḍapit as the birthplace of Bharata have every appearance of historical reality. To the human authorship of the *gāthās*, as distinguished from

17 See *Vedic Index*. s.v.

18 See Pargiter, *The Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 16-18, which gives full references.

the supposed revealed character of the Vedic hymns, pointed testimony is borne by a text of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*[19] Granting all these points the question still remains, 'What is the historical value of the *gāthās* and *nārāśaṃsīs* of Vedic literature'? We have first to admit that these works no doubt because of their courtly exaggerations drew upon themselves the reprobation of some of the Vedic schools. Thus the *Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā,* the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā* and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa,* all belonging to the Black *Yajur Veda,* have a series of more or less parallel texts branding the *gāthās* and *nārāśaṃsīs* as lies and as the filth of Brahman (the Vedas) and placing acceptance of gifts from their reciters on the same moral level as that from a drunkard.[20] These works, however, have been authoritatively recognised to be precursors of epic poetry.[21] With at least equal justice we may claim that they were the forerunners of the Indian historical *kāvya,* common to both being the fact that they eulogise the achievements of historical kings, naturally enough with some exaggeration.

Distinctly superior in importance to the *gāthās* and *nārāśaṃsīs* in the eyes of the Vedic Aryans, though not from the standpoint of Indian historiography, are the classes of compositions known to the Vedic Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas under

19 "Oṃ is the response to a *Ṛc;* 'Be it so,' to a 'gāthā.' Oṃ is divine, 'Be it so' human." *Ibid.,* VIII, 18, tr. A.B. Keith, *Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas,* p. 309.

20 *Cf. Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā,* XIV. 5: *anṛtam hi gāthā=nṛtam nārāśaṃsī mattasya na pratigṛhyam=anṛtam hi mattaḥ; Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa,* 1, 32. 6-7: *Yad brahmanaḥ śamalam=āsīt sa gāthānārāśaṃsy=abhavat yad=annasya sā sura tasmād=gāyātaśca mattasya ca na pratigṛhyam. Cf. Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā,* I, 11. 5.

21 *Cf.* Weber, *Episches im vedischen Ritual,* p. 4, followed by Winternitz, *op. cit.,* vol. 1, p. 314.

the name of Itihāsa and Purāṇa. We may freely translate them as 'legends of gods and heroes' and 'legends of origin' respectively. In the passage of the late fifteenth book of the *Atharvaveda* quoted above, they are mentioned after the sacred Ṛk, Sāman, Yajus and Brahman, and before the *gāthās* and *nārāśaṃsīs*, in a series of enumerated texts. The same order is preserved in the above-quoted texts from *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, (XI, 5), *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* (II, 10) and *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra* (III, 3), enjoining daily study of the Veda upon the householder. In a number of parallel passages in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* virtually enumerating the known branches of learning at that time, Itihāsa and Purāṇa are similarly mentioned after Ṛg-Veda and Yajur-veda, Sāma-veda and Atharvāṅgirasa, but before a number of subsidiary studies.[22] In a similar series of parallel passages in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (VII, 1. 2; 2. 1; 7. 1), Itihāsa-Purāṇa is mentioned as the fifth after the Ṛg-veda, the Yajur-Veda, the Sāma-Veda and the Ātharvaṇa, but before a number of secondary branches of learning. In the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad,* (III, 4. 1-4) not only is the same order preserved (Ṛk, Yajus, Sāman, Atharvāṅgirasa, Itihāsa-Purāṇa), but a close connection is sought to be established between the last two.

The elaborate account of the Aśvamedha sacrifice in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and other works shows that not only were Itihāsa and Purāṇa dignified with the title of 'Veda', but that their recitation formed an important element of the complex sacrificial ritual. On the day of loosening of the sacrificial horse, the *hotṛ* priest recites to the crowned king surrounded by his

22 See *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad,* II, 4, 10; IV, 1. 2. IV, 5. 11=*S.B.E.*, vol. XV, pp. 111, 153, 184.

sons and ministers what are called the 'revolving' (or 'recurring') legends (*pāriplava ākhyāna*). These are so called because the priest recites on ten successive days as many different Vedas, and this goes on for a year in cycles of ten days each. In the order of the narration Itihāsa and Purāṇa are reserved for the eighth and ninth days, while Ṛk, Yajus, Atharvan, Aṅgirasa, *sarpa-vidyā* ('the science of snakes'), *devajana-vidyā* (knowledge of divine beings), *māyā* (magic) are mentioned for the first seven days, and Sāman for the tenth.[23]

The recital of the *pāriplava* legends is evidently intended to show the models to whom the sacrificer is assimilated.[24] Equally didactic is the use of Itihāsa and Purāṇa in certain domestic sacrifices described in the Gṛhyasūtras. According to *Āśvalāyana Gṛhyasūtra*[25] when a misfortune like the death of a preceptor takes place, the members of the family should cast out the old domestic fire and kindle a new one. Keeping that fire burning, they sit till the silence of the night narrating the stories of famous men and discoursing on the auspicious Itihāsa-purāṇas. Again, according to *Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra*[26] on the occasion of the ceremonies on the new- and full-moon days, the husband and the wife should spend the night so as to alternate their sleep with waking, entertaining themselves with Itihāsa or with other discourse.

23 See *Śat. Br.*, XIII, 4. 3. 2 ff.; *Āśval. Śr. S.*, X, 7, 1 ff.; *Śāṅkh. Śr. S.*, XVI, 2. 1 ff. For the slight differences, see Sieg, *Die Sagenstoffe des Ṛg-veda*, p. 21*n*.

24 *Cf.* Dumont, *op. cit.*, p. 39, where the *pāriplava ākhyānas* are called "les anciens récits épiques, qui montrent les modèles du roi dans la légende, modèles auxquels on assimilie le sacrifiant."

25 IV. 6. 6; *cf.* Pischel and Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I. p. 290.

26 I, 6. 6.

While the ritual and didactic import of Itihāsa and Purāṇa in these ancient times is sufficiently demonstrated by the texts, the same cannot be said of their character as historical compositions. In the explanatory (*arthavāda*) portions of the Brāhmaṇas as distinguished from those enjoining the precepts (*vidhi*), there have been preserved specimens of the old Itihāsa and Purāṇa.[27] Here we have, as examples of Itihāsas, the legend of Purūravas and Urvaśī already known in the *Ṛg-Veda*, the legend of the Flood, the legend of Śunaḥśepa and so forth. As examples of Purāṇas, we have the legend of origin of the four castes out of the body of Prajāpati and the various creation-legends. A reference in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[28] shows that wars between gods and Asuras also formed the materials of the ancient Itihāsa. On the other hand, we have as yet no trace of genealogies of kings and dynasties with chronological references such as were to constitute an essential ingredient of the later Purāṇas according to the standard definition.

27 *Cf.* Sieg in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. VII, *s.v. Itihāsa;* Winternitz, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 208 ff.

28 XI, 1. 6. 9.

3. VEDIC HISTORICAL TRADITIONS*

The Vedic lists of *gotras* and *pravaras* and the fragments of *gāthās* and *nārāśaṃsīs* quoted in the Vedic Literature embody collectively a large mass of the oldest Indian historical tradition. But our account of the beginnings of Indian historiography will remain incomplete, if we are to ignore the residue of more or less authentic traditions preserved in the Vedic *Saṃhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads* and other works. Of the numerous and undoubted defects characterising these oldest historical compositions of the Indians, we shall have occasion to speak presently. Nevertheless they are of considerable interest as

* In the present section unless otherwise stated, the *Ṛgveda* is quoted, in the translation of R. T. H. Griffith (2 vols. Benares 1879), the *Atharvaveda* in that of W. D. Whitney and C. R. Lanman (*H.O.S.*, vols. VII & VIII, 1905), the *Vājasaneya Saṃhitā* in that of R. T. H. Griffith (Benares 1899), the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* in the version of A. B. Keith (*H.O.S.*, vols. XVIII-XIX, 1914), the *Aitareya* and *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇas* in that of A. B. Keith (*H.O.S.*, vol. XXV, 1920), the *Śatapatha Brahmaṇa* in that of J. Eggeling (*S.B.E.*, vols. XII, XXVI, XLI, XLIII, XLIV), the *Pañcaviṃśati Brāhmaṇa* in that of W. Caland (*Bib. Ind.*, Calcutta 1931), the *Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa* in that of Hans Oertel, (*J.A.O.S.*, XVI, Part I, 1894), *Chhāndogya, Bṛhadāraṇyaka* and *Taittirīya Upaniṣads* in that of F. Max Müller (*S.B.E.*, vols. I & XV). Abbreviations used in this section are *Ṛv.=Ṛgveda, Av.=Atharvaveda, Taitt. S.=Taittirīya Saṃhitā, Kāṭh. S.=Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā, Maitr. S.=Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā, Ait. Br.=Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Kauṣ. Br.=Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa, Śat. Br.=Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Taitt. Br.=Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, Pañch. Br.=Pañcaviṃśati Brāhmaṇa, J. U. Br.=Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, Gop. Br.=Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, Chh. Up.=Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, Taitt. Up.=Taittirīya Upaniṣad, Kauṣ. Up.=Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad;* also *V. I.=Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* by A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith (2 vols. London 1912).

illustrating the extent to which the historical sense had dawned upon the Indians at the beginning of their history.

The Ṛgveda Saṃhitā

It is characteristic of the vagueness of religious conceptions of the Ṛgvedic seers that they refer to a number of mythical priests and heroes (like Atri, Atharvan, the Aṅgirasas, the Bhṛgus and Kutsa) as well as *dasyus* (like the demons Śuṣṇa and Śambara) alongside historical figures of these categories. In accordance with this attitude we find the *Ṛṣi* authors referring in a number of hymns to mythical alongside historical incidents inspired (as they piously believed) by the act of the deities. To take a few examples, in *Ṛv.* I. 63 which is a hymn addressed to Indra we read:

3 "Faithful thou, these thou defiest, Indra; thou art the Ṛbhus' Lord, heroic, victor.
"Thou by his side, for young and glorious Kutsa with steed and car in battle slewest Śuṣṇa.

4 "That, as a friend, thou furtheredst, O Indra, when, Thunderer, strong in act, thou crushedst Vṛtra;
"When Hero, thou great-souled with easy conquest didst rend the Dasyus in their distant dwelling.

7 "Warring for Puṛukutsa thou, O Indra, Thunder-armed; brakest down the seven castles;
"Easily for Sudās, like grass didst rend them, and out of need, King, broughtest gain to Pūru."

In the above the fortunes of the mythical Ṛbhus, Kutsa, Śuṣṇa and Vṛtra are mentioned side by side with those of the historical Kings Purukutsa and Sudās.

1 See Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, *s.v. Mythical priests and heroes, Demons and fiends:* Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, pp. 223-228; 234-236.

Another Indra hymn (*Ṛv*. IV. 30) is as follows:

9 "Thou, Indra, Mighty one, didst crush Uṣas, though daughter of the sky,
When lifting up herself in pride.
13 "Valiantly didst thou seize and take the store which Śuṣṇa had amassed,
When thou didst crush his fortresses.
14 "Thou, Indra, also smotest down Kulitrara's son Śambara
The Dāsa, from the lofty hill.
15 "Of Dāsa Varcin's thou didst slay the hundred thousand and the five
Crushed like the fellies of a car.
17 "So sapient Indra, Lord of Might, brought Turvaśa and Yadu those
Who feared the flood, in safety o'er.
18 "Arṇa and Citraratha, both Āryas, thou, Indra, slewest swift,
On younder side of Sarayu.
20 "For Divodāsa, him who brought oblations, Indra overthrew
A hundred fortresses of stone.
21 "The thirty thousand Dāsas he with magic power and weapons sent
To slumber, for Dabhīti's sake."

Here also the poet refers to the fortunes of the goddess Uṣas and the demons Śuṣṇa and Śambara along with those of the historical Turvaśa, Yadu, Divodāsa, Arṇa, Citraratha, Dabhīti and Varcin.

Typical of the same blending of mythical and historical characters as well as incidents is the reference in *Ṛv*. I. 53.

10 "Thou has protected Suśravas with succour, and Tūrvayāṇa with thine aid, O Indra.
Thou madest Kutsa, Atithigva, Āyu, subject unto this King, the young, the mighty."

And in VI. 18. (also an Indra hymn):—

13 "This day the deed that thou hast done is famous, when thou, for him, with many thousand others,
Laidest low Kutsa, Āyu, Atithigva, and boldly didst deliver Tūrvayāṇa."

Here again, it will be seen, Tūrvayāṇa who is elsewhere (Ṛv. x. 61. 1 ff.) said to be a prince of the Pakthas, is credited with victory over the mythical Kutsa and Āyu as well as the historical Atithigva otherwise called Divodāsa.[2]

In the above extracts the references to historical incidents, it will be observed, are always of an allusive character. The same feature characterises other historical references in the Ṛgvedic hymns which are not so much mixed up with mythological matter. Take e.g. Ṛv. iv. 42 of which the concluding verses are as follows:

8 "Our fathers then were these, the seven Ṛṣis, what time the son of Durgaha was captive.
For her they gained by sacrifice Trasadasyu, a demi-god, like Indra, conquering foe-men.

9 "The spouse of Purukutsa gave oblations to you, O Indra-Varuṇa, with homage.
Then unto her ye gave king Trasadasyu, the demi-god. the slayer of the foemen."

According to Sāyaṇa this means that Purukutsa son of Durgaha being either captured or slain, his wife Purukutsāṇī propitiated the seven *Ṛṣis* who obtained for her by favour of the gods Indra and Varuṇa a son Trasadasyu to restore the line.

Of the same nature is Ṛv. ix. 61 where we read:

1 "Flow onward, Indu, with this food for him who in thy wild delight
Battered the nine-and-ninety down,

2 "Smote swiftly forts, and Śambara, then Yadu and that Turvaśa,
For pious Divodāsa's sake."

2 On the Ṛbhus, Kutsa, Śuṣṇa, Vṛtra, Purukutsa, Sudās, etc. alluded to in the above extracts see *V.I., s.v.*

This is usually taken to refer to an attack by the Turvaśa and Yadu peoples on Divodāsa.[3]

In the examples we have cited above, it will be observed that the Ṛṣi authors paid no attention to the topography of the incidents that they describe. Other passages, however, prove that they were not altogether wanting in the topographical sense. Thus in *Ṛv.* III. 23. 4 two Bharata chiefs are associated with the rivers Āpayā, Sarasvatī and Dṛsadvatī (all belonging to the region of the sacred Kurukṣetra of later literature). More distinct is the reference in *Ṛv.* VII. 96. 2 where the Pūrus are said to dwell on the two 'grassy banks' of the sacred Sarasvatī. Other texts pointing in the same direction are *Ṛv.* II. 41, VI, 61, VII. 95-96, containing apotheosis of the Sarasvatī 'the mightiest and most divine of streams,' 'best mother, best of rivers, best of goddesses', and above all *Ṛv.* X. 75 containing the famous *'Hymn to the Rivers'* of which Max Müller (*India, what can it teach us?*, London, 1883, p. 168) justly says,

> 'The poet takes in at one sweep three great armies of rivers—those flowing from the North-West into the Indus, those joining it from the North-East and in the distance the Ganges and the Jumna with their tributaries.'

This geographical sense of the Ṛgvedic seers manifests itself in a few descriptions of battle scenes. This is the case with *Ṛv.* III. 33 which tells us in the form of a dialogue between the *Ṛṣi* Viśvāmitra and 'the pair of Mothers', the Vipāś and the Śutudrī how the Bharatas, engaged in a raid, were able to cross the rivers in high flood, through the *ṛṣi's* prayers:[4]—

3 For references in the above extracts see *VI., s.v. Durgaha, Trasadasyu Turvaśa.*

4 For this interpretation of the above text rejecting that of Sāyaṇa see *VI., s.v. Viśvāmitra* where full references are given.

9 "List quickly, Sisters, to the bard who cometh to you from far away with car and wagon.
Bow lowly down; be easy to be traversed: stay Rivers, with your floods below our axles.
10 "Yea, we will listen to thy words, O Singer. With wain and car from far away thou comest.
Low, like a nursing mother, will I bend me, and yield me as a maiden to her lover.
11 "Soon as the Bharatas have fared across thee, the warrior band, urged on and sped by Indra.
Then let your streams flow on in rapid motion. I crave your favour who deserve our worship."
12 "The warrior host, the Bharatas, fared over: the singer won the favour of the Rivers.
Swell with your billows, hasting, pouring riches.
Fill full your channels, and roll swiftly onward."

Of the same kind is *Ṛv.* VI. 27. 5-7 where we read:

"In aid of Abhyāvartin Cāyamāna, Indra destroyed the seed of Varaśikha.
At Hariyūpiyā he smote the vanguard of the Vṛcīvans and the rear fled frightened.
Three thousand, mailed, in quest of fame, together, on the Yavyāvatī, O much-sought Indra,
Vṛcīvan's sons, falling before the arrow, like bursting vessels went to their destruction.
He, whose two red steers, seeking goodly pasture, plying their tongues move on 'twixt earth and heaven,
Gave Turvaśa to Sṛñjaya, and, to aid him, gave the Vṛcīvans up to Daivavāta."

Here we see that the poet gives us the geographical situation—Hariyūpiyā and Yavyāvatī (town or river?)—of the victory won over the Vṛcīvans and Turvaśas by King Abhyāvartin Cāyamāna who is identified by some with the Sṛñjaya King Daivavāta mentioned in the same context. What is more,

the poet's allusions to the numbers and equipment of the troops and their tactics indicate his interest in the art of warfare.[5]

No battle is more famous in the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* than that of the ten kings allied against the Tṛtsu King Sudās who won a glorious victory on the banks of the Paruṣṇī river. The hymn (*Ṛv.* VII. 18) which was addressed by the Ṛṣi Vasiṣṭha, the *purohita* of Sudās, to the god Indra, is quoted in extracts as follows:

5 "What though the floods spread widely, Indra made them shallow and easy for Sudās to traverse.
He, worthy of our praises, caused the Śimyu, foe of our hymn, to curse the rivers' fury.

6 "Eager for spoil was Turvaśa Puroḍās, fain to win wealth, like fishes urged by hunger.
The Bhṛgus and the Druhyus quickly listened: friend rescued friend mid the two distant peoples.

7 "Together came the Pakthas, the Bhalānas, the Alinas, the Śivas, the Viṣāṇins.
Yet to the Tṛtsus came the Ārya's comrade, through love of spoil and heroes' war, to lead them.

8 "Fools, in their folly fain to waste her waters, they parted inexhaustible Paruṣṇī.
Lord of the Earth, he with his might repressed them: still lay the herd and the affrighted herdsman.

9 "As to their goal they sped to their destruction: they sought Paruṣṇī; e'en the swift returned not.
Indra abandoned to Sudās the manly, the swiftly flying foes, unmanly babblers.

11 "The King who scattered one-and-twenty people of both Vaikarṇa tribes through lust of glory—
As the skilled priest clips grass within the chamber, so hath the Hero Indra wrought their downfall.

5 See *VI., s.v. Abhyāvartin Cāyamāna, Hariyūpīyā* and *Yavyāvatī* for the references here given.

14 "The Ānavas and Druhyus, seeking booty, have slept, the sixty-hundred, yea, six thousand,
And six-and-sixty heroes. For the pious were all these mighty exploits done by Indra.

15 "These Tṛtsus under Indra's careful guidance came speeding like loosed waters rushing downward.
The foemen, measuring exceeding closely, abandoned to Sudās all their provisions.

19 "Yamunā and the Tṛtsus aided Indra. There he stripped Bheda bare of all his treasures.
The Ajas and the Śigrus and the Yakṣus brought in to him as tribute heads of horses."

The battle of the ten kings, no doubt because of its high reputation, is directly referred to under the technical designation (*Dāśarājña*) in two other Ṛgvedic hymns. In *Ṛv.* VII. 33 addressed by the same *Ṛṣi* Vasiṣṭha in praise of his own family, we read:—

3 "So, verily, with these he crossed the river, in company with these he slaughtered Bheda.
So in the fight with the Ten Kings, Vasiṣṭhas[1] did Indra help Sudās through your devotions.

5 "Like thirsty men they looked to heaven, in battle with the Ten kings, surrounded and imploring.
Then Indra heard Vasiṣṭha as he praised him and gave the Tṛtsus ample room and freedom.

6 "Like sticks and staves wherewith they drive the cattle, stripped bare, the Bharatas were found defenceless:
Vasiṣṭha then became their chief and leader: then widely were the Tṛtsus' clans extended."

Charged with more picturesque detail is the description in *Ṛv.* VII. 83 addressed by Vasiṣṭha to the gods Indra and Varuṇa:—

1 "Looking to you and your alliance, O ye Men, armed with broad axes they went forward, fain for spoil.
Ye smote and slew his Dāsa and his Āryan enemies, and helped Sudās with favour, Indra-Varuṇa.

3 "The boundaries of earth were seen all dark with dust: O Indra-Varuṇa, the shout went up to heaven.
The enmities of the people compassed me about. Ye heard my calling and ye came to me with help.
8 "O Indra-Varuṇa, ye gave Sudās your aid when the Ten kings in battle compassd him about,
There where the white-robed Tṛtsus with their braided hair, skilled in song, worshipped you with homage and with hymn."

Many of the references in the above extracts (like the identity of the ten allied kings, the relation of the Tṛtsus to Sudās, the identification of the Yamunā and the part played by the Paruṣṇī in the fighting) have formed the subject of controversy among scholars.[6] Leaving these doubtful points out of account, we can still observe how the poet gives us the geographical situation of the most famous battle in Ṛgvedic times. What is more, he vividly brings before our eyes, as no other Ṛgvedic seer does, the successive stages of the battle—the exultant march of the confederates, the resulting panic in Sudās's force, the sudden turn of fortune and the final rout of the allies who were either drowned in the river or forced to flee leaving their camp to be plundered by the victors. With these passages, then the realism of the Ṛgvedic seers in the description of historical scenes reaches its culminating point.

The Atharvaveda Saṃhitā

The *Atharvaveda* is very sparing in its references to historical traditions. Nevertheless we may distinguish several types of such traditions in the same work. In *Av.* IV. 29.

6 See *VI., s.v. Bheda, Bharata, Tṛtsu, Yamunā* and specially *Paruṣṇī* for full references. In *Ṛgveda* VII. 18-19 above quoted, Hopkins suggests the reading Yadu in place of Yakṣa.

we have in the fashion of the *Ṛv.* passages above quoted a confused list of mythical and historical *ṛṣis* and heroes who are said to be favoured by the gods Mitra and Varuṇa:—

3 "Ye who favour Aṅgira· who Agasti, Jamadagni, Atri, O Mitra-and-Varuṇa, who favour Kaśyapa, who Vasiṣṭha—do ye free us from distress.

4 "Ye who favour Śyāvāśva, Vadhryaśva, Purumiḍha, Atri, O Mitra-and-Varuṇa, who favour Vimada, Saptavadhrī—do ye free us from distress.

5 "Ye vho favour Bharadvāja, who Gavishṭhira, Viśvāmitra, Kutsa, O Varuṇa [and] Mitra, who favour Kakshīvant, also Kaṇva—do ye free us from distress.

6 "Ye who favour Medhātithi, who Triśoka, who Uśanas Kāvya, O Mitra-and-Varuṇa, who favour Gotama, also Mudgala—do ye free us from distress."

On the other hand *Av.* v. 19. 1. gives us what purports to be a historical example illustrating the dangers befalling the oppressors of Brahmanas:—

"They grew excessively; they did not quite (*iva*) touch up to the sky; having injured Bhṛgu, the Sṛñjayas, Vaitahavyas, perished."

The Yajus Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas

Passing to the Saṁhitās of the *Yajur Veda* and the Brāhmaṇas, we have to notice a number of distinct types of historical traditions, which shares in the exclusively liturgical character of the works concerned. The simplest and most numerous of these types consists of authoritative citations in support of specified branches of the sacrificial ritual. Frequently we are introduced to a series of authorities ending with the most important ones. We shall quote here only two out of numerous examples. Thus *Śat. Br.* I. 1. 1. 7, discussing the question of the sacrificer's taking the evening meal after performance of the *Agnihotra,* says,

"On this point Āshāḍha Sāvayasa, on the one hand, was of opinion that the vow consisted in fasting.........Yājñavalkya on the other hand said, If he does not eat, he thereby becomes a sacrificer to the manes and if he does it, he eats before the gods have eaten: let him therefore eat what, when eaten, counts as not eaten."

Of the same nature is *Kaus. Br.* XXVI. 3:

"Now Paiṅgya used to say 'Superfluous would be a *mantra* repeated twice when not prescribed; therefore he should not proceed immediately.' So Paiṅgya used to say. Now Kauṣītaki used to say, 'These rites in which the number of *mantras* employed is limited have limited fruits. Those in which an unlimited number of *mantras* is employed have unlimited fruits."

Another type of traditional history that we come across in the later *Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* consists of what may be called historical examples justifying the authoritative ritual. In some texts the examples are quoted to illustrate the dangers attending ritual errors. Thus in *Taitt. S.* VI. 6. 2 and *Kāṭh. S.* XII, 3 the Sṛñjayas are said to have been defeated because of a mistake committed in the ritual by their priest Devabhāga By far the largest number of such examples is quoted to illustrate the advantages accruing to the sacrificer from the performance of specific rituals. How a king of an ancient line who had been exiled with his priest received back his kingdom inspite of the machinations of another king is told in *Śat. Br.* XII. 9. 3. 1 ff.:—

'Now Duṣṭarītu Pauṃsāyana had been expelled from the kingdom which had come down to him through ten generations and the Sṛñjayas also expelled Revottaras Pāṭava Cākra Sthapati [The priest with the king's consent performed the *Sautrāmaṇī* for the purpose of conferring upon him dominion over the Sṛñjayas, but Balhika Prātipīya, king of the Kurus, hearing of this report wished to prevent the performance of the sacrifice. After he had tried in vain to place the priest on the horns of a dilemma] he went home and said 'It is not so (as we had thought): that kingdom of the Sṛñjayas now belongs to Duṣṭarītu:—in such and such a manner has that Cākra Sthapati this day performed the sacrifice'.

A similar example is quoted in *Pañc. Br.* XXI. 12. 2-4:

"The Jahṇus and the Vṛcivats quarrelled for (the possession of) the kingdom. Viśvāmitra the king of the Jahṇus saw this rite (*scill.* the four-day rite of Viśvāmitra) and practised it. He got the kingdom, the others (Vṛcivats) were deprived of it.

More frequent than the above isolated examples are the lists of successful sacrificers that we find in the works under notice. Thus in connection with the ceremony of piling of the fire-altar we read in the *Taitt. S.* V. 6. 5 (similar lists are found in *Kāṭh. S.* XXII. 3; *Pañch. Br.* XXV. 16. 3; *J.U. Br.* II. 6. 11):—

"This (fire) Para Āṭṇāra, Kakṣīvant Auçija, Vītahavya Çrāyasa, and Trasadasyu Paurukutsya piled, being desirous of offspring; then indeed did they win thousands each of children."

Similarly *Śat. Br.* II. 4: 2 ff. gives a list of kings and priests who performed the so-called *Dākṣāyaṇa* or *Vasiṣṭha* sacrifice (a modification of the full-moon sacrifice) with various resulting successes:

"Now he was indeed Dakṣa: and because he sacrificed in the beginning with this sacrifice it is called Dākṣāyaṇa sacrifice.........

"Now that same sacrifice was afterwards performed by Pratidarśa Śvaikna; and he indeed was an authority to those who emulated him. An authority, therefore, he will become, whosoever, knowing this, performs that sacrifice: let him, therefore, perform that sacrifice.........

"That same sacrifice was afterwards performed by Devabhāga Srautarṣa. He was Purohita both to the Kurus and Sṛñjayas. Now a very high position (is held by him) who is the Purohita of one kingdom: how much higher, then, is the position (of one) who (is the Purohita) of two (kingdoms). A very high position accordingly he obtains, whosoever, knowing this, performs that sacrifice: let him, therefore, perform that sacrifice" and so on.

In a similar way *Ait. Br.* VII. 34, after describing the proper food of the king at the Rājasūya in lieu of Soma, says:

"This food Rāma Mārgaveya proclaimed to Viçvantara Sauṣadmana; this also Tura Kāvaṣeya proclaimed to Janamejaya Pārikṣita; this Parvata and Nārada proclaimed to Somaka Sāhadevya, to Sahadeva Sāṁjaya, Babhru Daivāvṛdha, Bhīma of Vidarbha, Nagnajit of Gandhāra; this Agni proclaimed to Sanaçrūta Ariṃdama and to Kratuvid Jānaki; this Vasiṣṭha proclaimed to Sudās Paijavana. All of them attained greatness, having partaken of this food. All of them were great Kings; like Āditya, established in prosperity, they gave heat, obtaining tribute from all the quarters."

None of the examples of the class of compositions we are now considering is more famous than the more or less parallel lists of royal sacrificers, and their priests in the *Ait. Br.* the *Śat. Br.* and the *Śāṅkh. Śr. Sū.* In *Ait. Br.* (VIII. 21-23) the list of kings consecrated to the Great Consecration of Indra and their ministering priests is given as follows:—

'With this great anointing of Indra Turu Kāvaṣeya anointed Janamejaya Pārikṣita. Therefore Janamejaya Pārikṣita went round the earth completely, conquering on every side, and offered the horse in sacrifice......With this great anointing of Indra Cyavana Bhārgava anointed Çāryāta Mānava. Therefore Çāryāta Mānava went around the earth completely, conquering on every side, and offered the horse in sacrifice; at the sacrificial session of the gods he was the householder. With the great anointing of Indra Somaçuṣman Vājaratnāyana anointed Çatānika Sātrājita. Therefore Çatānika Sātrājita went round the earth completely conquering on every side, and offered the horse in sacrifice. With the great anointing of Indra, Parvata and Nārada anointed Āmbāṣṭhya. Therefore Āmbāṣṭhya went round the earth completely, conquering on every side, and offered the horse in sacrifice,' and so on.[7]

With the above we may compare *Śat. Br.* XIII. 5. 4. 1 ff. and *Śāṅkh. Śr. S.* XVI. 9 enumerating a group of royal performers of the *Aśvamedha* (or horse-sacrifice) along with their ministering priests.

7 In the above context the *Ait. Br.*, quotes the story of Atyarāti Jānaṃtapi and the priest Vāsiṣṭha Sātyahavya as illustrating the danger of playing false with a Brahman.

The type of compositions just mentioned comprising historical examples of successful sacrificers, was intended no doubt to emphasise the efficacy of the rites concerned. The same motive resulted in the composition of another class of traditions in the form of historical introductions to expositions of the sacrificial ritual. Such expositions are, as a rule, expressed for greater dramatic effect in the form of an imaginary series of dialogues between different theologians. We may take *J.U. Br.* I. 59. 1-14 to illustrate the simplest examples of this kind:—

"Now Brahmadatta Cāikitāneya went to the Kuru Abhipratārin Kākṣaseni. He (A.) offered him a honey-potion (*madhuparka*). Now his *purohita* Śaunaka, stepping forth, sat down near by. He (B.) drank the honey-potion without addressing him (Ś.). He (Ś.) said to him (B.): 'As knowing what, O Dālbhya, dost thou drink the honey-potion without addressing [me]'? [Then follows a series of short questions on ritual put by Ś. and answered satisfactorily by B. At the end Ś. could only say], 'Homage be to thee, reverend sir, with knowledge hast thou drunk the honey-potion.' [Then follows another ritual question asked by A. and answered by B. When A. proposed to continue the talk, the other said], 'Don't! We have done thee this honour, do not ask us too much.' [To this answer A. could only reply by expressing his disappointment]".

We have a similar example in *J.U. Br.* IV. 6-8 stating how Baka Dālbhya, the most learned Brāhmaṇa of the Kuru-Pañcālas, answered a series of five questions put to him by king Bhagīratha of the Ikṣvāku family.

While in the above case the dialogues take the simple form of a catechism, they are given in other and more numerous instances in the historical setting of disputes between a number of theologians. This gives the opportunity for the priestly authors to introduce dramatic incidents and studies of individual character along with glimpses of contemporary manners.

In *Ait. Br.* II. 19 we have an account (of which *Kauṣ. Br.* XII. 3 gives a shorter version), borrowed at least from life, of a dispute between a low-born priest and his fellows at a sacrifice.—

"The seers performed a sacrificial season on the Sarasvatī, they drove away Kavaṣa Ailūṣa from the Soma, 'The child of a slave woman, a cheat, no Brahman; how has he been consecrated in our midst.' They sent him out to the desert, (saying) 'There let thirst slay him; let him drink not the water of the Sarasvatī.' [After he had gone to the wilderness, he saw the 'child of the waters' hymn']. The seers said, 'The gods know him; let us summon him.' 'Be it so' (they replied). They summoned him; having summoned him they performed this 'child of the waters' (hymn)."

Another illustration supported by a historical precedent, of a dispute between a king and a priestly family is told in *Ait. Br.* VII. 27:—

"Viçvantara Sauṣadmana, despising the Çyāparṇas, performed a sacrifice without the Çyāparṇas. Perceiving this the Çyāparṇas went to the sacrifice and sat down within the altar. Seeing them he said. 'There sit those doers of an evil deed, speakers of impure speech, the Çyāparṇas; remove them; let them not sit within my altar.' 'Be it so' they replied. They removed them. They being removed cried aloud, Heroes had the Kaçyapas among them in the Asitamṛgas who at the sacrifice from which Janamejaya Pārikṣita excluded the Kaçyapas, won the Soma drinking from the Bhūtavīras. What hero have we among us who will win this Soma drinking?' 'I am the hero for you,' said Rāma Mārgaveya. [After Rāma Mārgaveya had explained at great length the proper food for the King at the Rājasūya, Viçvantara Sauṣadmana said], 'A thousand we grant to you, O Brahman; my sacrifice will be performed by the Çyāparṇas,"

In the above extracts the disputes between theologians turn on the general grounds of descent or conduct or even speech. Other disputes narrated in the *Brāhmaṇas* are concerned with specific questions of sacrificial ritual and are marked, as such, by greater contrasts of character and incidents. In *Śat. Br.* X. 3.4.

1 ff. we have the following characteristic story of a theological disputation involving two figures well known to the *Brāhmaṇas* and the older *Upaniṣads* viz., Śvetaketu Āruṇeya and his father Uddālaka Āruṇi:—

"Śvetaketu Āruṇeya once upon a time was about to offer sacrifice. [Being asked by his father he said that Vaiśvāvasavya was his *hotṛ* priest. When the father asked the priest to answer a number of questions, the latter said that he knew some of them, while as for the rest he could only say, 'Nay, but thou wilt teach me, Sir.' The father then answered the questions himself.]"

The pen-picture of Śvetaketu and Uddālaka in the above extract—the former being described unlike the latter as a conceited man of somewhat immature intellect—is in complete accord with other references to these teachers in the *Brāhmaṇas* and connected works. This of course, is an indirect evidence of the historical reality of the characters concerned.[8]

We have another account of a theological dispute in which Uddālaka Āruṇi figures as an ethical and at the same time masterful and somewhat remorseless disputant in *Śat. Br.* XI. 5. 3. 1 ff.:—

"Śauceya Prācinayogya came to Uddālaka Āruṇi for a disputation on spiritual matters. [After Uddālaka Āruṇi had answered a number of questions which were already known to Śauceya Prācinayogya, the latter was compelled to admit his ignorance about other questions. Śauceya, then, said] 'Here are logs for fuel: I will become thy pupil, reverend sir' He replied, 'If thou hadst not spoken thus, thy head would have flown off; come, enter as my pupil'. 'So be it,' he said. He then initiated him and taught him that pain-conquering utterance, Truth."

8 Cf. *Śat. Br.*, XI. 4. 18 illustrating Śvetaketu's boastful and self-assertive character. Also cf. *Chh. Up.*, VI. 1 ff. giving a charming account of young Śvetaketu returning from his teacher's house 'conceited, considering himself well-read and stern' and of Uddālaka's disabusing him of his self-conceit.

The story of another contest in which Uddālaka Āruṇi figures as one of the disputants and which vividly illustrates contemporary manners is told in two versions in the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Śat. Br.* XI. 4. 1. 1 ff. and *Gopatha Br.* I. 3. 6. The former version is as follows: —

"Now Uddālaka Āruṇi was driving about as a chosen (officiating-priest) amongst the people of the northern country. By him a gold coin was offered; for in the time of our forefathers a prize used to be offered by chosen (priests) when driving about for the sake of calling out the timid to a disputation. Fear then seized the Brahmans of the northern people. 'This fellow is a Kuru-Pañcāla Brahman and son of a Brahman: Let us take care lest he should deprive us of our domain: come, 'let us challenge him to a disputation on spiritual matters. [After they had chosen Svaidāyana Śaunaka as their champion, he accosted Uddālaka and proved his knowledge of the Full and New Moon sacrifices.] Then he (Uddālaka) gave up to him the gold coin saying, 'Thou art learned, Svaidāyana' and he, having concealed it, went away. They asked him, 'How did that son of a Gautama behave?'. He said, 'Even as a Brahman and the son of a Brahman: the head would fly off of whosoever should (dare to) challenge him to a disputation. They then went away in all directions. [Then Uddālaka came back to Svaidāyana as a pupil. But the other said, 'I will tell thee even without thy becoming my pupil.']

We have in this extract in the familiar figure of Uddālaka Āruṇi the picture of a typical wandering disputant of Ancient India. In the description of the stakes offered and risked we have an emphatic illustration of the keenness with which such disputes were fought in ancient times. We have, finally, a remarkable series of individualistic representations of character. In Uddālaka Āruṇi we find a redoubtable disputant confident of success and inspiring terror in the hearts of his adversaries. This is explained by reference to a few biographical notices, viz., the teacher's belonging to the sacred Kuru-Pañcāla country and his occupying the office of a chosen priest. But this proud

disputant has no hesitation in humbling himself before his victorious foe for acquiring the superior knowledge. On the other hand the Brāhmaṇas from 'the northern country' are pictured as a selfish and fainthearted stock, caring not for the pride but only for their possessions threatened by their formidable antagonist. As a foil to this unworthy group we have the attractive figure of Svaidāyana, so unlike other teachers of his class, who spares his beaten foe the humiliation of defeat and magnanimously instructs him in his own superior knowledge.

We turn now to the last class of theological disputations in which kings as well as Brahmans take part and which in the form of intellectual tournaments naturally provide opportunities for displaying marked contrasts in character. Take, e.g., the dialogue between king Aśvapati Kaikeya (otherwise unknown to history) and a number of Brahmans, of which we have two different versions in *Śat. Br.* x. 6. 1 ff. and *Chh. Up.* v. 11. The former version with which we are here concerned runs as follows:—

"Now at the house of Aruṇa Aupaveśi these came once together. [Here follow the names of several Brahmans]. They took counsel together regarding (Agni) Vaiśvānara, but did not agree as to Vaiśvānara. [They went to Aśvapati Kaikeya who knew Vaiśvānara thoroughly. After the King had honoured them with gifts, they came to him with fuel in their hands, saying], 'We want to become thy pupils.' He said, 'How is this, venerable sirs, when ye are learned and sons of men learned in the scriptures?' They replied, 'Venerable sir, thou knowest Vaiśvānara thoroughly; teach us him'. He said, 'I do indeed know Vaiśvānara thoroughly; put your fuel on (the fire), you are become my pupils.' [He then instructed them in the usual form of questions and answers].

Here, it will be observed, the Brahmans, although they are reputed to have hereditary knowledge of the scriptures,

humble themselves before Aśvapati for acquiring the superior knowledge. On the other hand the king, who may be regarded as a type of the enlightened prince of those days, while imparting the instruction, insists upon the respect due to him as a teacher.[9]

No dialogues in the *Brāhmaṇas,* as later on in the *Upaniṣads,* are more famous than those of which Janaka king of Videha and Yājñavalkya are the central figures. In *Śat. Br.* XI. 3. 1. 2 ff. we have a dialogue between the great king and the famous Brahman, in which the latter correctly answers the questions about the *Agnihotra* put to him by the former. On the other hand *Śat. Br.* XI. 6. 2. 1. ff. tells us how a number of Brahmans including even Yājñavalkya failed fully to satisfy the king with their answers: —

"Now Janaka of Videha once met some Brahmans who were travelling about. [Here follow the names]. He said to each of them, 'How do ye each of you perform the *Agnihotra?* [After they had successively answered the King's questions, he told Yājñavalkya], 'Thou, O Yājñavalkya, hast enquired most closely into the nature of the *Agnihotra*.........But not even thou knowest either the uprising or the progress or the support or the contentment or the return or the renascent world of these two (libations of the *Agnihotra*).

9 The longer version of the *Chh. Up.*, above-mentioned is notable for a fuller characterisation of the individuals concerned. Here the Brahmans at first approach the ubiquitous Uddālaka Āruṇi who however, with the remarkable shrewdness of his nature, referred them to Aśvapati Kaikeya. For he reflected, 'Those great householders and great theologians will examine me and I shall not be able to tell them all.' The Brahmans, according to the same version, when approaching Aśvapati repelled all his offers of hospitality, and coldly replied that their object was to acquire knowledge of Vaiśvānara from the King. Aśvapati respected their dignity so far that he imparted his knowledge without exacting the initiatory rites due to him as a teacher.

[After the King had left] they said, 'Surely this fellow of a Rājanya has out-talked us. Come, let us challenge him to a theological disputation.' Yājñavalkya said, 'We are Brahmans and he is a Rājanya: if we were to vanquish him, whom should we say we have vanquished? But if he were to vanquish us, people would say of us that a Rājanya had vanquished Brahmans: do not think of this! They approved of his words. [Yājñavalkya overtook the King and learnt from him the secret of the *Agnihotra*. In return Yājñavalkya granted the King the boon of asking questions when he pleased.] 'Thenceforth Janaka was a Brahman.'"

The above story evidently shows Yājñavalkya to have been as superior to his fellows in learning, as in practical wisdom. Though defeated, he yet succeeds in maintaining the prestige of his class and while learning the secret from the king, he is yet able to confer upon him a favour.

The same combination of superior learning and worldly wisdom characterises Yājñavalkya in the story of the tournament held by Janaka at his court. The story (*Śat. Br.* XI. 6. 3. 1 ff.) is as follows:—

"Janaka of Videha performed a sacrifice accompanied with numerous gifts to the priests. Setting apart a thousand cows, he said, 'He who is the most learned in sacred writ amongst you, O Brahmans, shall drive away these (cows)'. Yājñavalkya then said, 'This way (drive) them.' They said, 'Art thou really the most learned in sacred writ amongst us, Yājñavalkya?' He replied, 'Reverence be to him who is most learned in sacred writ! We are but hankering after cows'. [After 'the shrewd Śākalya' had volunteered to question Yājñavalkya, the latter asked], 'Have the Brahmans made of thee a thing for quenching the fire-brand, Śākalya?' [After Yājñavalkya had answered all his questions, he said], 'Thou hast gone on questioning me beyond the deity, beyond which there must be no questioning: Thou shalt die ere such and such a day, and not even thy bones shall reach thy home!" [And so it came to pass].

In the above extract we have a typical illustration of an enlightened court of those days, lavish in its patronage of Brahmanical learning and ritual. Coming to individual charac-

ters, we find Yājñavalkya with his usual shrewdness parrying a direct answer to the question about his claim to superior learning. When, however, Śākalya dared to challenge him, Yājñavalkya betrayed his haughty temper by trying to silence him with a threat. When this last failed in its end, he ended by cursing his adversary, as the author tells us, with fatal results.

The next type of traditional history to be found in the *Brāhmaṇas* deals with the supposed historical origin of existing institutions. In accordance with the prevailing atmosphere of these works even such beginnings are connected with performance of the sacrificial ritual. Thus in *Śat. Br.* II. 4. 4 we are told in connection with the Dākṣāyaṇa sacrifice that it was performed by Dakṣa Pārvatī whence 'even to this day these (descendants of his) the Dākṣāyaṇas are possessed of the royal dignity.' Similarly *Śat. Br.* XIII. 5. 4. 19 says,

"Śatānīka Sātrājita performed the Govinata (form of Aśvamedha), after taking away the horse of the Kāśya (King); and since that time the Kāśis do not keep up the (sacrificial) fires, saying, 'The soma drink has been taken from us.' "

We have to mention, in the last place, a unique historical tradition preserved in the *Śat. Br.* I. 4. 1. 14 ff. relating to the migration of a band of Vedic Aryans from the Sarasvatī's banks to the eastern lands of Kosala and Videha:—

'Māthava, the Videgha, was at that time on the (river) Sarasvatī. Agni thence went burning along this earth towards the east; Gotama Rāhugaṇa and the Videgha Māthava followed after him as he was burning along. He burnt (over) all these rivers. Now that (river) which is called Sadānīrā flows from the northern (Himalaya) mountains: that one he did not burn over. That one the Brahmans did not cross in former times thinking, 'it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara'. Now-a-days, however, there are many

Brahmans to the east of it. At that time (the land east of the Sadānīrā) was very uncultivated, very marshy, because it had not been tasted by Agni Vaiśvānara. Now-a-days however, it is very cultivated for the Brahmans had caused (Agni) to taste it through sacrifices................Māthava the Videgha then said to Agni, 'Where am I to abide?' 'To the east of this (river) be thy abode', said he.

In this famous and oft-quoted extract the priestly author has handed down a concrete instance of the greatest historical event of the *Brāhmaṇa* period viz., the expansion of Vedic civilization from its central seat in Kurukṣetra to the lands of the East and the South. The author's appreciation of chronology, again, is displayed in his reference to the three successive stages of the advance marked by the original settlement on the Sarasvatī, the reclamation and colonization of the land to the west of the Sadānīrā (the later Kosala) and those of the land to the east of the Sadānīrā (the later Videha). The progress of the settlers, characteristically enough, is traced to the burning down of the regions concerned by the God of Fire in aid of the colonizing king and priest.

The older Upaniṣads

When we pass from the *Brāhmaṇas* to the older *Upaniṣads,* we find that the types of traditional history preserved in the later works are, so far as they go, a continuation of those of the earlier. Of the simplest type, that of authoritative citations in support of doctrine, we have an example in *Taitt. Up.* 1. 9:—

'Satyavacas Rāthitara thinks that the true only is necessary. Taponitya Pauraśiṣṭi thinks that penance only is necessary. Nāka Maudgalya thinks that learning and practising the Veda only are necessary.'

As in the case of the *Brāhmaṇas,* there is no reason to doubt that the authorities cited in the Upaniṣads are anything but historical personages.

The next type of traditional history, that of religious disputations in the form of dialogues, is, as Oldenberg has already shown, more fully developed in the older *Upaniṣads* than in the *Brāhmaṇas.* For not only do they occur oftener, but they also attain greater volume and importance. The reason for this development has very properly been found by the same scholar in the contrast between the sacrificial lore of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the higher knowledge of the *Upaniṣads:* the former was on the whole shared equally by a band of experts, while the latter was more or less an individual possession of the elect to be imparted also to favoured individuals.[10] From the standpoint of modern historical criticism the defects of the *Upaniṣad* dialogues are sufficiently obvious. In them we find an unmistakable element of mythology and folklore, as e.g. in *Chh. Up.* IV. 5 ff. where the bull of a herd, the fire, a flamingo, and a *Madgu* bird are successively mentioned as teaching Satyakāma Jābāla and in *Ibid.* VIII. 7 ff. where the god Prajāpati is stated as instructing Indra and the *asura* Virocana. The frequent references to the splitting of heads of defeated disputants may also contain, as Oldenberg thinks, an element of magic. Nevertheless the dialogues of the *Upaniṣads,* even more than their prototypes in the *Brāhmaṇas,* may be rightly affirmed to mark a distinct advance in Indian historiography. In the fami-

10 See Oldenberg, *Die Lehre Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus,* pp. 160-1. Also cf. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads,* p. 505.

liar form of dialogues between prince and learned Brahman, father and son, husband and wife, they frequently offer, as we shall see presently, charming pictures of contemporary life at the royal court and in Brahman settlements. In them, again we find faithfully reflected, as shown below, the lights and shades of the various types of character—types which, if not always true to fact, are uniformly drawn from life.[11]

Let us illustrate the above with a number of examples. A dialogue illustrating the mutual relations of a Brahman teacher and a Kṣatriya prince is narrated in the *Chh. Up.*, IV. 1:—

"There lived once upon a time Jānaśruti Pautrāyaṇa who was a pious giver, bestowing much wealth upon the people and always keeping open house. He built places of refuge everywhere, wishing that people should everywhere eat of his food. [Overhearing a report from a pair of flamingoes about the superiority of a certain Raikva, the King sent a messenger to search for him. The teacher was found in the forest lying beneath a bullock-team and scratching his sores. When the King offered him cows and ornaments and a carriage, the teacher repulsed him with scorn. It was only when the King offered him his own daughter in marriage along with the above presents that Raikva said], 'You have brought these (cows and other presents), O Śūdra, but only by that month (*scill.* of the girl) did you make me speak?' [He then instructed the prince in his superior knowledge]."

Leaving aside the element of folklore, the above description brings before us two life-like characters of a type not yet extinct

11 On the defects of the *Upaniṣad* dialogue, from the standpoint of literary form and technique, see specially Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-72. As Oldenberg notes, the spirit underlying these dialogues is illustrated by *Jaim. Up. Br.*, III. 8. 2 where we are told that 'whenever one formerly engaged in a theological disputation, they used to wait on him as on one dead.' The following description of the historical value of the dialogues may be taken to complete the picture given by the German scholar.

in this country. The high-minded prince, so generous towards his peoples, is not conceited enough to withhold any price for acquiring superior knowledge. By his side stands the proud Brahman revelling in his repulsive eccentricities and contemptuous of earthly greatness, but yet vain enough to covet the hand of a princess.

In other and by far the larger number of examples the above *rôles* are reversed, the Brahman being said to be worsted in debate by his Kṣatriya antagonist who ends by forcing him to become his own disciple. In this type of which we have already observed some specimens in the *Brāhmaṇas* we seem to anticipate some of the famous dialogues of the Buddhist canon wherein the Buddha is made to confound proud Brahmans with his own superior dialectical skill. We may begin our illustration of this class with *Chh. Up.* I. 8 telling the story of a prince who with sly humour reminiscent of the Buddha in the Pāli canonical texts, accords the honour of precedence in debate to two Brahman disputants only to silence them with his superior knowledge. The story is as follows:—

'There were once three men well-versed in *Udgītha*, Śilaka Śālāvatya, Caikitāyana Dālbhya and Pravāhaṇa Jaivali.' [After they had agreed to have a discussion on the *Udgītha*] Pravāhaṇa Jaivali said, 'Sirs, do you both speak first, for I wish to hear what two Brahmans have to say.' [After Śilaka Śālāvatya had silenced Caikitāyana Dālbhya only to be silenced in his turn by Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, the latter said], 'Your *Sāman* (the earth), O Śālāvatya, has an end. And if any one were to say, Your head shall fall off (if you be wrong), surely your head will now fall'. [The other could only ask humbly to be taught by the king].

Another dialogue showing how the same prince Pravāhaṇa Jaivali prevailed over Śvetaketu Āruṇeya and his father—two famous names already known to us from the dialogues in the

Brāhmaṇas—is narrated in two versions, *Chh. Up.* V. 3. 1 ff. and *Bṛ. Up.* VI. 2. 1 ff. In the former version the story is as follows:—

"Śvetaketu Āruṇeya went to an assembly of the Pañcālas. Pravāhaṇa Jaivali said to him: 'Boy, has your father instructed you?' 'Yes Sir,' he replied. [After he had failed to answer a series of five questions, the Prince said], 'Then why did you say (you had been) instructed? How could anybody who did not know these things say that he had been instructed? Then the boy went back sorrowful to the place of his father and said, 'Though you had not instructed me, Sir, you said you had instructed me. That fellow of a Rājanya asked me five questions and I could not answer one of them.' [When the father went to the king's place, the latter said], 'Sir, Gautama, ask a boon of such things as men possess.' He replied, 'Such things as men possess may remain with you. Tell me the speech which you addressed to the boy.' [The king, after assuring him that this knowledge did not go to any Brahman before and was confined to the Kṣatriyas alone, proceeded to instruct him duly].

This extract introduces us to an important institution of the Upaniṣad period, viz. the assembly (*samiti* or *pariṣad*) of the people. Further, we have here a series of vividly drawn characters evidently reproduced from life. The Prince is merciless in exposing the ignorance of the conceited youth, but is liberal in communicating the exclusive knowledge of his class to the father as soon as he is convinced of the latter's earnestness. On the other hand, the young Śvetaketu is so full of self-conceit that he cannot bear the humiliation of being defeated by 'that fellow of a Rājanya,' and upbraids his father for failing to instruct him. In sharp contrast with his character is that of his father who has no hesitation in seeking instruction from the Prince and successfully convinces him of his own earnest thirst for knowledge.

Still another dialogue in which the above pair, Śvetaketu and his father, are described as being confounded by a Prince is told in *Kauṣ. Up.* I. 1ff.:—

"Citra Gāṅgyāyani, forsooth, wishing to perform a sacrifice, chose Āruṇi (Uddālaka, to be his chief priest). But Āruṇi sent his son Śvetaketu and said, 'Perform this sacrifice for him.' [Śvetaketu, being asked a question by the king, could only reply], 'I do not know this. But let me ask the master.' [His father, however, on being asked the same question, said, 'I also do not know this and he proceeded for instruction to the king's place. Taking fuel in his hands as the mark of a disciple Āruṇi said to the king], 'May I come near to you?' He replied, 'You are worthy of Brahman,' O Gautama, because you were not led away by pride. Come hither, I shall make you know clearly.' "

In the above Śvetaketu and Uddālaka bear their usual characteristics. The former is of immature learning, but too proud to accept instruction from a Kṣatriya, while the latter thinks it no humiliation to acquire the Kṣatriya's superior knowledge. Again, the king, like Pravāhaṇa Jaivali in the passages cited immediately above, is unrelenting towards the conceited Śvetaketu, but magnanimous in his relations with the modest Uddālaka.

In the dialogue between Ajātaśatru king of Kāśi and Gārgya Bālāki, of which we have two versions (*Kauṣ. Up.* IV. 1 ff. and *Bṛ. Up.* II. 1 ff.) we have another instance of a Prince silencing a proud Brahman with his superior knowledge.

"Bālāki, we are told, was a man of great reading. Volunteering to tell the king the nature of Brahman, he learnt to his mortification that the qualities attributed by him to Brahman were already known to Ājātaśatru. After Bālāki had been reduced to silence, came the king's crushing retort: 'Thus far only (do you know), O Bālāki,' to which the latter could only signify his humble assent. In the *Kauṣ. Up.*, version the king completes his triumph by saying 'Vainly did you challenge me', saying, 'Shall I tell you Brahman?' When however Bālāki actually came forward as a pupil, the

magnanimous king cried out: 'I deem it improper that a king should initiate a Brahman. Come, I shall make you know clearly.' And so he proceeded to instruct the Brahman."

We have to mention, in the last place, a few dialogues of which Janaka king of Videha and Yājñavalkya, already known to us from the dialogues of the *Brāhmaṇas*, are the leading figures. In two instances (*Bṛ. Up.* IV. 1 ff. and *Ibid.* 3 ff.) Yājñavalkya so well instructs Janaka in philosophical truths that the gratified king finally offers himself and his people as slaves to the teacher. In the next example (*Bṛ. Up.* III. 1)—which is an amplification of *Śat. Br.* XI. 6. 3. 1 ff.—we are told how Janaka arranged a kind of intellectual tournament in which Yājñavalkya carried off the prize of victory. The story runs as follows: —

"Janaka Vaideha sacrificed with a sacrifice at which many presents were offered to the priests (of the Aśvamedha). Brahmans of the Kurus and the Pañcālas had come thither and Janaka Vaideha wished to know which of those Brahmans was the best read. [He offered a prize of one thousand cows to the wisest among them. When Yājñavalkya asked his pupil to drive away the cows], the Brahmans became angry and said, 'How could he call himself the wisest among us?'. [One of them, Aśvala, who was the *hotṛ* priest of Janaka, pointedly asked], 'Are you indeed the wisest among us O Yājñavalkya?'. He replied, 'I bow before the wisest, but I wish indeed to have these cows.' [After this Yājñavalkya was questioned at great length by successive persons all of whom he reduced to silence. To the lady Gārgī Vācaknavī who plied him with questions about Brahman, Yājñavalkya at length cried out], 'O Gārgī, do not ask too much, lest thy head should fall off.' After that Gārgī held her peace. [But after a time she again challenged Yājñavalkya to a fresh discussion with a remarkable simile illustrating the 'assimilation of these intellectual combats with military contests]. 'O Yājñavalkya,' she said, 'as the son of a warrior from the Kāśis or Videhas might string his loosened bow, take two pointed foe-piercing arrows in his hand and rise to do battle, I have risen to fight thee with two questions. [When she was again silenced by her superior opponent, she declared], 'Venerable

Brahmans, you may consider it a great thing, if you get off by bowing before him. No one, I believe, will defeat him in any argument concerning Brahman.' [When inspite of this warning, Vidagdha Śākalya challenged Yājñavalkya with a series of questions, the latter ended by questioning him about the Self, saying], 'If thou shalt not explain him to me, thy head will fall.' Śākalya did not know him and his head fell, nay, thieves took away his bones, mistaking them for something else."

As in the parallel passage of the *Śat. Br.* above quoted, we have here a typical picture of an enlightened royal court of those days. The character of Yājñavalkya, again, as in the preceding example is marked by a distinctive individuality. While cleverly parrying a direct answer to the question about his claim to superior learning, he has no difficulty in crushing his opponents with his deeper knowledge of the Self. But he betrays the implacable side of his nature by warning the lady Gārgī and by cursing the unfortunate Śākalya, as we are told, with fatal effect.

General remarks

The historical traditions preserved in the Vedic *Saṁhitās* and other works that we have considered so far are almost completely lacking in chronological references. In the *Brāhmaṇas*, indeed, a chronological approach is presented by such types of traditions above-mentioned as those relating to the origin of existing institutions and the gradual advance of Vedic civilisation from its stronghold in the sacred Kurukṣetra country. The penetrating and thorough analysis of the relevant data has also enabled Oldenberg to trace two important landmarks in Ṛgvedic chronology, viz. those represented by the series of kings Sudās-Purukutsa-Trasadasyu and those by the series Parikṣit-

Janamejaya.[12] An incipient sense of a chronological starting-point, again, is presented by *Chh. Up.* I. 10 giving the picturesque story of the teacher Uśasti Cākrāyaṇa who lived with his wife as a beggar after the Kuru country had been devastated by locusts or hailstones (*maṭacī* in the original). Of a real chronological era, however, starting from a definite histori-cal event there is as yet no trace.

Summing up our estimate of the oldest surviving fragments of Indian traditional history as above described, we may state that with all their admitted defects—the mixture of mythology and folklore in their composition, their implicit acceptance of supernatural forces as the dominant factors ruling human affairs, their indifference to chronology, their slight attention to topography, they occupy an important place in the evolution of Indian historiography. The imperious urge of the Ṛgvedic seers to celebrate the achievements of their royal patrons along with their own together with the evident anxiety of the authors of the later works to find support for their doctrinal or ritual points in past antecedents, led them to create several distinct types of traditional history. As yet these examples did not approach the character of a system. But beyond doubt they collectively embodied a mass of genuine tradition which was afterwards utilised by the authors of the systematic genealogical lists of royal dynasties and priestly families in the Epics and the Purāṇas.[13] Above all we have in the various classes of

12 See H. Oldenberg's paper *Über die Liedverfasser des Ṛigveda Nebst Bemerkungen über die vedische Chronologie und über Geschichte des Rituals*, *ZDMG*. XLII, 199-247.

13 The view of F. E. Pargiter (*Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 59 ff.) rejecting the Vedic (the so-called Brahman) tradition in favour of

compositions above-mentioned, contained in solution, as it were, most of the types of historical workmanship found in later times, specially those of sacred biography and church-history along with systematic royal and dynastic Chronicles.

the Purāṇa (the so-called Kṣatriya) tradition has rightly not found acceptance among scholars. For some notable attempts to reconstruct the dynastic history of the Vedic period by co-ordinating the Epic and Puranic material with the Vedic, see S. N. Pradhan, *The Chronology of Ancient India*, and Hemachandra Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, Pt. 1. chs. 2-3.

AŚOKAN STUDIES

I

"Lāja-vacanika Mahāmātras."

In his work *Aśoka* (p. 52) Professor Radhakumud Mookerjee writes:

"The Jaugaḍa text of the Kaliṅga Rock Edict II mentions a class of Mahāmātras who are described as *Lāja-vacanikas,* i.e., those who were entitled to receive the king's message directly, and not through the royal Viceroys. Thus these Mahāmātras might be regarded as Provincial Governors, as they are given independent charge of their province."

It is impossible to support this view. The passage in the Jaugaḍa text to which Professor Mookerjee refers is as follows:—

Devānaṃpiye hevaṃ [ā]ha Samāpāyaṃ mahamatā l[ā]-javacanik[a] vataviyā.[1]

This is translated by Professor Mookerjee (*Ibid.,* p. 126) as follows:—

"His sacred Majesty thus says: At Samāpā the High Officers entitled to receive the king's messages are to be addressed as follows."

Evidently Professor Mookerjee understands *Lājavacanika* in the above to be a technical title. But phrases like *madvacanena* (or *madvacanād*) *vaktavyaḥ* are a well-known idiom in the Sanskrit and Sanskritic languages, meaning that a certain person should be addressed according to the words of the speaker.[2] In the text of Aśoka's inscription quoted above, the

1 The above follows the transcript in Hultzsch, *Corpus Inscr. Ind.,* Vol. 1, p. 116. For *lāja°* Senart and Bühler read *laja°*, a reading which is adopted by D. R. Bhandarkar and S. Majumdar Sastri, *The Inscriptions of Aśoka,* p. 88.

2 Among numerous instances of this kind may be mentioned '*ucyatām*

phrase *mahamatā lājavacanikā vataviyā* evidently stands for *devānampiyasa vacanena mahāmātā vataviyā* of the parallel Dhauli version (Separate RE. I and II). This last has been taken by all translators including Professor Mookerjee[3] to mean that the *mahāmātras* concerned should be addressed by the command of the king. There is thus no justification for conjuring up a class of *'lājavacanika mahāmātras'* from the text of Aśoka's inscription above mentioned.

II

Rājūkas

The *Rājūkas* (with the variant forms *rajuka, lajuka, lajūka*) are mentioned as a class of officials in Aśoka's RE. III and PE. IV. The precise nature of their office has remained undetermined up to the present time. But recently some theories have been advanced on this point. According to Professor Mookerjee (*Aśoka,* pp. 53, 56) the *Rājūkas* were "the ordinary Provincial Governors" differing apparently in this respect from the "*Lājavacanika Mahāmātras*", above mentioned. His arguments (*op. cit.,* p. 133*n.*) may be thus summarized:—

(1) "*Rājūke* or *raju* (Manshera) (*sic*), is probably connected with the word *Rājā* which in Pāli might mean even a *mahāmatta, mahāmātra* and 'all those who have power of life and death' (Childers'). In the *Mahāvamsa* there is even the term *Rājako* for a king."

asmad-vacanād-vṛṣalaḥ' 'ucyatām asmad-vacanāt viśvāvasu-prabhṛtayaḥ trayo bhrātāraḥ,' 'ucyatām mad-vacanāt Kālapāśiko Daṇḍapāśikaśca' in *Mudrārākṣasa,* Act I; *'mad-vacanāc-ca saṃghasya pādābhivandanaṃ kṛtvā vaktavyaṃ,' Divyāvadāna,* p. 431.

3 *Aśoka,* p. 120. Other instances of the use of the same idiom in Aśoka's inscriptions are: The Queen's Edict: *Devānampiyashā vachanenā savata mahamatā vataviyā;* Brahmagiri Rock Edict: *(s)uvamṇagirite ayaputasa mahāmātāṇaṃ cha vachan(e)na I(si)lasi mahāmātā ārogiyaṃ vataviyā.* (So also in Siddāpur Edict).

(2) PE. IV declares the *Rājūkas* to be in charge of 'many hundred thousands of people' and to be invested with certain powers of the sovereign.

These arguments do not seem to carry much conviction. As to (1) even a cursory examination of the transcript and estampage of RE. III (Mansehra version) shows that the [*ra*]*ju* occurring therein is not a complete word, but has its final letter dropped out. Evidently it stands for the complete word *rajuko* of the Shahbazgarhi version whose grammar and language are identical with the Mansehra recension. The form *rajuko* is doubtless a variant of *rājūka* in the Girnar version, of which the nominative singular form would be *rājūke*. Thus there is no ground for holding that *rājūka* and *raju* are two alternative designations of the same office. In so far as the word *rājūka* is concerned, its etymological connection with *rājan* is extremely problematic. In Sanskrit *rājaka* may indeed be derived from *rājan* in the sense of 'a little king' or 'a petty prince' in accordance with Pāṇini, v, 3. 85. The word-form *rājako* which occurs in the *Mahāvaṃsa* in the sense of king, as mentioned by Professor Mookerjee, shows that the Pāli grammarians in this respect followed the rule of Sanskrit grammar. But no grammatical rule exists either in Sanskrit or in Pāli for deriving *rājūka* from *rājan*. Even if we could prove with Prof. Mookerjee a connexion between *rājan* and *rājūka*, it would not carry us very far in our appreciation of the importance of the latter office. For *rājan* in Pāli has a very wide connotation:

"It is primarily an appellative (or title) of a *khattiya*, and often the two are used promiscuously. Besides it has a far wider sphere of meaning than we convey by any translation like 'king' or even 'sovereign' or 'prince.' We find it used as a designation of 'king' in the sense of an elected or successory

(crowned) monarch, but also in the meaning of a distinguished nobleman or a local chieftain, or a prince with various attributes characterizing his position according to his special functions."[4]

The widely extended and indefinite connotation of the term *rājan* in Pāli is well known to Professor Mookerjee, but he apparently does not realize how this disproves his own case.

As to (2), the passages in PE. IV to which Professor Mookerjee refers and which will be quoted and commented on in the sequel, undoubtedly show that the *Rājūkas* held authority over hundreds of thousands of people, and were granted wide powers of jurisdiction by the Emperor. But these passages, while showing that the *Rājūkas* were judicial officers of high standing, are not sufficiently definite to warrant their identification with provincial governors. Professor Mookerjee is aware of the difficulty in the way of acceptance of his interpretation, for he admits[5] that the *Yutas*, the *Rājūkas* and the *Prādeśikas* in RE III may have been mentioned in an ascending order, in which case the *Prādeśikas*, of course, would have a higher status than the *Rājūkas*.

A very different explanation of the term *Rājūkas* was proposed by the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal who took it to mean 'Imperial High Ministers', and in fact 'a committee of the *Pariṣat*' vested with full executive authority. We propose to consider his arguments[6] *seriatim*.

"The *Prādeśikas* correspond to the *Mahāmātras* at Ujjain, Taxila, etc. In other words, they were the 'Provincials' or the Provincial Ministers. If the *Prādeśikas* were the Provincial Ministers, the *Rājūkas* who are more important

4 *PTS. Dict.* s. v. *rājā*. 5 *Op. cit.*, p. 134*n*; cf. *Ibid.*, p. 56*n*.
6 *JBORS.*, 1918, pp. 41-42; cf. Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, pp. 129-130.

than, and who are contrasted with, the *Prādeśikas* must be the Ministers at the seat of the Central Government."

It may be conceded that the derivation of *prādeśika* from *pradeśa* is quite natural, and has the support of many interpreters of Aśoka's inscriptions.[7] But the authorities, while agreeing in the main on this point, have differed in their interpretation of the term. For, while Dr. F. W. Thomas derives *prādeśika* from *pradeśa* in the sense of 'report,' Kern held it to mean, 'a provincial governor.'[8] Even if we were to understand *pradeśa* as a territorial term, there is nothing to indicate the extent of its jurisdiction in the Maurya times. The passage in Childers' *Pāli Dictionary* to which Dr. Jayaswal refers in this connexion and which occurs in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* (Vol. III, p. 47) is as follows:—

Rājāno nāma paṭhavyā rājā padesarājā maṇḍalikā antarabhogikā akkhadassā mahāmattā ye vā pana chejjabhejjaṃ anusāsanti ete rājāno nāma.

Here the context shows that *padesa* stands for a kingdom of medium extent, and cannot mean 'the largest administrative area in a kingdom.'[9] Even if we were to take *prādeśika* in the sense of 'Provincial Ministers,' there is no evidence to show that the *rājūkas* were 'more important' in comparison with them. On the contrary we have to remember the possibility (to which a reference has been made above) of the terms *yutas*, *rājūkas*,

7 Cf. Kern (*JRAS.*, 1880, p. 393); F. W. Thomas (*JRAS.*, 1915, p. 112, correcting his earlier identification with *pradeṣṭṛ*, *JRAS.*, 1914, pp. 385-6), Hultzsch, *Corpus*, p. 5, *n*3.

8 See the references quoted in the preceding foot-note.

9 In the *Visuddhimagga* (PTS. ed. p. 301) *padesarājā* is similarly used in the sense of a sub-king.

and *prādeśikas* being mentioned in RE. III in an ascending order of importance.

"The people (*Jana*) and subjects (*Prajā*) (who were lacs and lacs) were in the charge of *Rājūka;* as a child is in that of a nurse—with full control. The People and Prajā denote that the whole of the people were under their rule ....Their 'going out of office' every five years also suggests that they were of the class of High Ministers."

The first part of this statement is based on a passage in PE. IV which runs as follows:—

Lajūkā me bahūsu pānasatasahasesu janasi āyatā

of which the natural meaning is that many hundreds of thousands of people (and not 'the people who were lacs and lacs') were subject to the jurisdiction of the *rājūkas.* When Dr. Jayaswal reads into the simple references in the inscription above-mentioned to *Jana* and *Prajā* the meaning of the whole people, he is surely stretching the sense to a degree unwarranted by the text. The second part of Dr. Jayaswal's statement refers to the following passage in RE. III (Girnar version):

Sarvata vijite mama yutā ca rājūke ca prādesike ca paṃcasu paṃcasu vāsesu anusaṃy[ā]na[mn]iyātu.

Here the words *sarvata vijite mama* seem to suggest that the officers concerned were spread throughout the empire rather than that they were concentrated at the head-quarters. The conclusive evidence in favour of the view that the *Rājūkas* were at least in part local officers is furnished by their juxtaposition with *Yutas* and *Prādeśikas,* for no one contends that the latter were officers of the Central Government. With reference to the interpretation put upon *anusaṃyāna* by Dr. Jayaswal ('going out of office') it rests upon the authority of a passage in the late

Śukranīti[10] which merely relates to the desirability of transferring officers. On the other hand the renderings of Bühler ('tour for official inspection'), Bhandarkar ('circuit'), and Hultzsch ('complete tour') are supported by the weight of authorities in the early Brahmanical and Buddhist literature.[11] The verbal form of *anusaṃyāna* occurring in a Pāli passage in the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (Vol. 1, pp. 59-60) signifies going out on tour into the interior of the districts for various specified purposes[12] Thus the argument for raising the Rājūkas to the class of 'High' Ministers' based upon their supposed going out of office every five years falls altogether to the ground.

"The technical meaning of *daṇḍa*, government, is known from the study of Hindu Politics. *Daṇḍa* and *abhihāra* will thus mean government and military operations, Peace and War. The *Rājūkas* were given complete independence in matters of Government and Military undertakings—both in matters of Peace and War, home government and foreign relations Such powers can only be held and exercised by the Imperial High Ministers."[13]

In the above the reference is to the following passage in PE IV:—

tesam ye abhihāle vā daṃḍe vā atapatiye me kaṭe

which has been taken by other scholars to mean that rewards and punishments (or otherwise, judicial investigation and punishment) have been left by the king to the jurisdiction of the *Rājūkas*.[14] It is difficult to follow Dr. Jayaswal when he claims for *daṃḍa* in the foregoing passage the 'technical mean-

10 *JBORS.*, 1908, pp. 36-40.
11 *Cf.* Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 2nd ed. pp. 302-3.
12 *Cf.* B. M. Barua, *Inscriptional Excursions*, *IHQ.*, Vol. II, p. 128.
13 Cf. *Hindu Polity* p. 129.
14 Cf. Hultzsch, p. 124, Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

ing' of government. In the works on 'Hindu Politics' to which he refers *daṇḍa* has the meaning of fine, punishment, army etc. *Daṇḍa* is used in the sense of army in contrast with other items such as *koṣa* (treasury) and *janapada* or *rāṣṭra* (the territory) in the famous category of seven limbs of sovereignty.[15] In the well-known verse of Manu VII. 65[16] *daṇḍa* in the sense of army is distinguished from *koṣa* and *rāṣṭra* as well as from *sandhi* and *vigraha* (peace and war). With regard to the term *abhihāla*, it is true that Sanskrit *abhihāra* has the sense of 'attack' or 'assault', while Pāli *abhiharati* similarly has the alternative sense of 'censure', 'revile' or 'abuse',[17] but *abhihāla* in Pāli has the meaning of 'offering' or 'gift'[18] which admirably fits in with the sense of *daṇḍa* as punishment in the passage *abhihāle ca daṃḍe ca*. It thus follows that the *Rājūkas* were certainly high judicial officers, but there is nothing to indicate that they were the Imperial High Ministers. The connection of the *Rājūkas* with the judicial administration is also indicated by a subsequent passage in PE IV:

Ichitaviye hi esā kiṃti viyohālasamatā ca siya daṃḍasamatā cā.

"Scholars have taken *rājūka* as a derivation of *rajjū*, rope. But Rājū is a known Pāli form in the sense of 'ruler' 'king'. The citizens of the republican Licchavi State are called *rājūs*, and seven kings who attacked Benares are called *rājans* and *rājūs*. The *Rājūkas* of Aśoka thus were 'the rulers' or

15 Cf. *svāmy-amātya-janapada-durga-kośa-daṇḍa-mitra* etc. of *Arthaśāstra*, VIII. 1.

16 *Amātye daṇḍa āyatto daṇḍe vainayikī kriyā | nṛpatau kośarāṣṭre ca dūte sandhiviparyayau||*

17 For references see Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dict.* and *PTS. Dict., s.v.*

18 See *PTS. Dict., s.v.*

Rulers-Ministers, the committee of the Parisā vested with real executive powers over the whole Empire."[19]

The whole of the above is based upon a mis-statement of facts. *Rājū* in Pāli is not an independent noun-stem, but is one of the modified forms which the word *rājan* assumes in the plural case-endings. Thus we have from the noun-stem *rājan* the following forms:—

Instrumental	plural	...	*rājūhi, rājūbbhih,* (with variant forms)
Dative	,,	...	*rājūnaṃ* (as above)
Ablative	,,	...	*rājūhi, rājūbbhi* (as above)
Genitive	,,	...	*rājūnaṃ* (as above)

The passages to which Dr. Jayaswal refers in this connection are as follows:—

Jāt., vol. 1, p. 179:—*Rājā taṃ pakkosāpetvā, 'sakkhissasi tāta sattahi rājūhi yuddhaṃ kātun'ti āha. 'Deva............ sakala—Jambudīpe rājūhi saddhiṃ yujjhitum sakkhissāmīti'; Ibid.*, p. 504:—*Tattha niccakālaṃ rajjaṃ kāretvā vasantānaṃ yeva rājūnaṃ sattasahassāni sattasatāni satta ca rājāno honti.'*

In the above it will be noticed that *rājūhi* is used in the instrumental plural, while *rājūnaṃ* is in the genitive plural, both being doubtless derived from the root-word *rājan*. There is thus no room for the supposition that either the king or the citizens referred to in the above passages bore the title of *rājū*.

The truth is that the connection which Bühler suggested long ago between the Aśokan *Rājūka* and the *Rajjuka* of the *Kurudhamma Jātaka* is based upon sound philological principles. On this point we cannot do better than refer to the high autho-

19 Cf. *Hindu Polity*, pp. 129-30.

rity of Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee whose note on the *Orthography of the early Brāhmī Inscriptions* is reproduced at the end of this article. Once the identity of *Rājūka* and *Rajjuka* is established, we can trace the course of development of this office in the following way. In the period of small States preceding the unification of Northern India into a single Empire, the Rajjuka was the title of a petty land-surveyor entrusted with the task of measuring the fields for Government revenue. As the Jātaka story shows and as is indeed indicated by the full form of the title *Rajjugāhaka amacca* ('the rope-holding officer)', he used in person to measure the fields by means of a rope (*rajju*) tied to a stick which he pitched in the ground.[20] With the rise of the Magadhan Empire and the consequent expansion of the administrative machinery, the *rajjuka* was evidently entrusted with a wide jurisdiction, and was given high judicial functions probably in addition to his older duties as revenue or settlement officer.[20a]

III

Rāṣṭrīya Puṣyagupta—Yavanarāja Tuṣāspha.

In the Junāgaḍh Rock inscription of Rudradāman in connection with the description of restoration of the famous Sudarśana lake occur the following words[21].—

20 Cf. the present writer's work *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 54.

20a Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 2nd ed., p. 302, quotes Dr. Jayaswal's Interpretation of *rājūka* and its criticism by the present writer only to definitely reject the former explanation. His own view (*ibid.*, p. 64) is that *rājūkas* were heads of districts as distinguished from *prādeśikas* who were heads of divisions or provinces.

21 *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. No. 6.

............*(s) y=arthe Mauryasya rājñaḥ Candrag (u)p(ta)s-(ya) (r)āṣṭrīyeṇa (V)aiśyena Puṣyaguptena kāritaṃ Aśokasya Mauryasya te yavanarājena Tuṣāsphen=ādhiṣṭhāya praṇālibhir=ala (ṃ)kṛta(ṃ).* The above was translated by Kielhorn as follows[22]: —

"..............for the sake of ....ordered to be made by the Vaiśya Puṣyagupta, the provincial governor of the Maurya king Candragupta; adorned with conduits for Aśoka the Maurya by the Yavana king Tuṣāspha while governing."

The translation of Kielhorn has been generally adopted and even improved by later scholars who have sought to throw further light upon the nature of the Maurya provincial administration. Thus Professor Beni Prasad[23] writes as follows: —

"The later Junāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman records that Surāṣṭra or Kaṭhiāwāḍ was governed by the Vaiśya Puṣyagupta in Candragupta's time and by the Yavana Tushāspa (*sic*) under Aśoka. The former Governor is designated Rāṣṭriya, while the latter is called Adhiṣṭhāya (*sic*)."

According to Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[24] the Girnar inscription of Rudradāman shows that "the province of Surāṣṭra or Kaṭhiāwāḍ was governed by Vaiśya Puṣyagupta in Candragupta's time and by the Yavana king Tuṣāspa (*sic*) when Aśoka was king": thus it furnishes an instance of the second type of provincial governors 'who were not related to the king's family', unlike 'the *Kumāra* Viceroyalties.'[25] In the opinion of Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri[26] the reference to the Yavanarāja in

22 *Ibid.*, p. 46.

23 *The State in Ancient India*, p. 189.

24 *Aśoka*, 1st. ed., pp. 49-50; repeated, 2nd ed., p. 53.

25 On these two types see Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

26 *Political History of Ancient India*, 2nd ed., 1927, pp. 180-81; repeated in 3rd ed., 1932, pp. 196-97 and with some modifications in 4th ed., 1938, pp. 236-37.

the Girnar inscription shows that probably 'he was appointed *mukhya* of the Surāṣṭra *saṃgha* by Aśoka,' while the use of the term Rāṣṭriya meaning probably 'a sort of Imperial High Commissioner' makes it appear that 'the position of Puṣyagupta in Surāṣṭra was like that of Lord Cromer in Egypt.'

In considering the correctness of the above views we have first to mention that Kielhorn's rendering of the verb *adhiṣṭhāya* as 'administering' or 'governing' and of *rāṣṭrīya* in the sense of 'Governor' is based upon the connotation of the term *adhiṣṭhāna* and *svadhiṣṭhātā* applied in the same inscription to Suviśākha who was entrusted by Rudradāman with the government of the Ānartta and Surāṣṭra country.[27] We, however, think that *adhiṣṭhāya* here may just as well refer to the superintendence of construction of the works concerned. The use of the verb *adhiṣṭhā* in the sense of 'to direct, to preside over, superintend,' is known to Sanskrit literature.[28] In this connection it may be pointed out that Professor Prasad's interpretation of *adhiṣṭhāya* as an official title is a deplorable blunder due to the oversight of the commonest rule relating to the construction of verbal forms with the termination *lyap* or *yap*. Reverting to Kielhorn's interpretation of the Girnar inscription, we have to mention that there is nothing in it to indicate whether Surāṣṭra or any larger or smaller jurisdiction was entrusted to the charge of Puṣyagupta and Tuṣāspha. It may indeed be asserted that neither the etymological sense of *rāṣṭrīya* nor its parallel forms found elsewhere justify us in holding that he was an officer of the rank of Provincial Governor. The term *rāṣṭrīya* is known to Pāṇini who has a special *sūtra* (IV, 2, 93) for its formation,

27 *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 46*n*. 28 See Apte's, *Sans.-Eng. Dict. s.v.*

but in his time it was evidently understood in a very wide sense so as to apply even to one who was born in a kingdom.[29] In the *Arthaśāstra* we have the terms *rāṣṭrapāla* and *rāṣṭramukhya* which probably correspond to the *rāṣṭrīya* of the inscription. These officers are distinguished in a number of passages[30] from the *antapāla* and the *puramukhya*. From such references it is clear that the title was meant to indicate an officer in charge of the districts in the interior of the country as distinguished from towns as well as districts on the frontier.[31] If a high status be claimed for the *rāṣṭrapāla* on the ground that he is included in the same grade as the *kumāra*, the same status should be accorded to the *antapāla* belonging to the identical grade. But neither the *antapāla* of the *Arthaśāstra* nor the *anta-mahāmātra* of Aśoka's inscription who is his equivalent has the rank of a Provincial Governor. It may also be added that *raṭṭhika* in Pāli which probably corresponds to *rāṣṭrīya* signifies an official of the kingdom.[32] In these circumstances it is a plausible conclusion that the *rāṣṭrīya* Puṣyagupta and the Yavanarāja Tuṣāspha after his time held charge of small jurisdictions falling within the limits of the neighbouring Viceroyalty at Ujjayinī.[33]

29 Very indefinite also is the Vedic *rāstriya* (or *rāṣṭrīya*) which occurs, for instance, in *Maitr. Saṃ.* II 1. 12, III 3. 7; *Kāth. Saṃ.* XIII. 10.

30 Cf. *Arthaśāstra,* I. 16:—*aṭavy-antapāla-purarāṣṭramukhyaiśca pratisaṃsargam gacchhet; Ibid.,* II, 16: as above; *Ibid.,* V. 1: *kāntāra-vyavahite vā deśe rāṣṭrapālam-antapālam vā sthāpayitum°;* IX. 3: *rāṣṭramukhy-āntapālāṭavika-daṇḍopanatānām-anyatamakopo bāhyakopaḥ.*

31 Cf. the passage quoted above from *Arthaśāstra,* V. 1.

32 See *PTS. Dict., s.v.*

33 Mr. C. D. Chatterjee in his learned and elaborate paper (*A historical character in the reign of Aśoka-Maurya,* D. R. Bhandarkar Volume, Calcutta,

As to the argument that the title of *rājā* borne by Tuṣāspha 'probably indicates that he enjoyed a certain amount of autonomy,' Dr. Raychaudhuri himself disposes of it by pointing to the analogy of Rājā Mansingh's appointment as Subadar of Bengal under Akbar. Indeed almost his whole case for the alleged exceptional position held by Puṣyagupta and Tuṣāspha rests upon the authority of a passage in the *Arthaśāstra*[34] referring to the *Kāmboja*, the *Surāṣṭra*, the *Kṣatriya* (?) and other corporations (*saṃghas*). But can the reference in the *Arthaśāstra* be safely taken, apart from any corroborative evidence, to reflect the conditions of the Maurya period?[35] And does not this

1940, pp. 330 ff) deals with Prince Piṅgala of Surāṣṭra mentioned in the *Petavatthu* and its commentary the *Paramatthadīpani* as a feudatory of the Maurya emperors Bindusāra and Aśoka. He thinks (*op. cit.*, pp. 337-38) that Piṅgala was 'a vassal chief' whose 'relation to the Crown was not possibly direct but through the governor of Surāṣṭra or the viceroy of the western division of the Maurya empire, whose headquarters was at Ujjainī.' Piṅgala therefore, according to this scholar was very likely a local chief subject to an imperial governor or viceroy. As for the term *rāṣṭrīya*, the same author admits (p. 337, n. 4) that it is not known in the sense of ruler of a small territory or a province, while Pāli *raṭṭhika* (Skt. *rāṣṭrīka*) means a hereditary chief; his equivalents in the Aśokan inscriptions namely, *raṭhika*, *laṭhika* and *ristika*, signify probably a class of noblemen or landlords beolnging to the western provinces. Sanskrit *rāṣṭrīya*, therefore, and its Pāli or Prakrit equivalents bear in no instance the sense of a provincial governor. In the same context the author above-mentioned thinks that Puṣyagupta, although styled a *rāṣṭrīya*, was a *rāṣṭrika* in the sense of exerçising the supreme authority in a sovereign state within the imperial territorial limits. It is dificult to understand how an officer who was admittedly a representative of the paramount power could exercise supreme authority in a sovereign state. In fact the author proceeds immediately to equate Piṅgala's office with that of *rāṣṭrapāla* of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* and *prādeśika* of Aśoka's inscriptions.

34 XI, 1:—*Kāmboja-surāṣṭra-kṣatriya-śreṇyādayo vārtāśastropajīvinaḥ*.

35 In the same context the *Arthaśāstra* mentions the Licchivikas, the

reference simply mean that the Surāṣṭras with other named and unnamed *saṃghas* lived by agriculture, trade as well as the profession of arms (*vārttāśastropajīvinaḥ*), or in other words that they were merely a fighting and industrial corporation?[36] Neither RE. v nor RE. xiii (with its fuller list), while mentioning the names of various autonomous tribes included within the limits of the Maurya Empire, makes the slightest reference to the Surāṣṭras. Incidentally, it may be remarked that the *saṃghas* in the *Arthaśāstra*, as Dr. R. C. Majumdar[37] has shown, had not one but several *mukhyas* at their head.[38]

Vṛjikas, the Mallakas, the Madrakas, the Kukuras, the Kurus and, the Pāñcālas as examples of *rājaśavdopajīvin saṃghas*. These however, are not mentioned by Dr. Raychaudhuri in his description of Maurya Government (*op. cit.*, pp. 226 ff.).

36 In *Political History*, 4th ed., p. 237 *n*3 Prof. Raychaudhuri brings forward an additional argument viz. the above-mentioned reference in the *Petavatthu* commentary to a king Piṅgala of Suraṭṭha. But the tradition is as much silent as the *Arthaśāstra* itself about the existence of Surāṣṭra as a political unit, or as Prof. Raychaudhuri would prefer to call it, an autonomous vassal state. Prof. Raychaudhuri duly notes (*op. cit.*, p. 237, n. 4) the correspondence above referred to between *Rāṣṭrīya* and the *Rāṣṭrapāla* of *Arthaśāstra* as well as *Raṭṭhika* of Pāli literature. But he has not considered the objections urged above on the score of inconclusive character of the evidence.

37 *Corporate Life*, 2nd ed., p. 104.

38 It is interesting to observe that Dr. Raychaudhuri in the 4th edition of his *Political History* (p. 237) concedes the above point, for he takes *Tuṣāspha* to have been one of the *mukhyas* or chiefs of the Surāṣṭra Saṃgha appointed by Aśoka. In the same context he for the first time considers Surāṣṭra to have been alternatively an autonomous vassal state or a confederation of autonomous vassal states.

IV

The significance of PE. IV

In *Hindu Polity*[1] Dr. K. P. Jayaswal claims to have discovered on the basis of "the combined evidence of Aśoka's inscription and the *Divyāvadāna*" a concrete instance of the high constitutional position of the council of ministers in Ancient India. His view of the matter may best be described in his own words which are reproduced below.

> "We have the recorded instance of the pious despotism developed by Aśoka and what was the result? Was the Ministry overthrown and [were] the constitutional laws set at naught? Or was the despot deprived, if not of his throne, of his sovereignty?"

In other words, we are asked to believe that Aśoka sought to make himself a despot whereupon the Ministers in defence of the "constitutional laws" of the country combined to deprive him of his sovereignty.

The inscription of Aśoka which is sought to support Dr. Jayaswal's contention is PE. IV. Dr. Jayaswal who regards it as "one of the most important documents of the constitutional history of Hindu India", draws from it the conclusion that the *rājūkas* acting on behalf of "the *Jānapada* Body" and with its support "deprived the Emperor of India of his *aiśvaryya* or sovereign authority". Before we proceed to consider the arguments in favour of this proposition we may make a few general observations. Such a strong "adverse statement against interest" as that involved in Dr. Jayaswal's interpretation wherein the Emperor is made to proclaim the abject surrender

1 Part II, p. 143 ff.

of his authority would require the strongest corroborative evidence to be worthy of credence, more especially when we remember that the inscription in question is distributed in no less than six recensions embracing all the home provinces of the Empire. But apart from Dr. Jayaswal's interpretation of PE. IV and the late Buddhist religious tradition to which we shall presently refer, there is no independent testimony in support of Dr. Jayaswal's statement. On the other hand, the evidence of the contemporary inscriptions makes it clear that down at least to the 26th year of his consecration when PE. IV was written, Aśoka's sovereign authority remained unimpaired. We thus find in other inscriptions written or engraved in the same year that Aśoka claims his officials to be conforming to his precepts (PE. I), that he is attending to the welfare not only of his relatives but also of all classes (PE. VI) and, most important of all, that he has ordered (*ānapitā*) the *rājūkas* to preach the *Dharma* (PE. VII).

Let us now turn to the interpretation of PE. IV on which primarily rests the admissibility of Dr. Jayaswal's contention. The crucial passage is the following:—

Lajūkā pi laghaṃti paṭicalitave maṃ pulisāni pi me chaṃdaṃnāni paṭicalisaṃti.[2]

In the above Dr. Jayaswal takes '*laghanti*' (evidently a mistake for *laghaṃti* in the original) to be equivalent to the Sanskrit *laṅghanti*, and he translates the whole passage as follows:—

2 The transcript of the Delhi-Sivalik version in Bhandarkar and Śāstri has *paṭicaliṭave*, which is evidently a slip for *paṭicalitave* in the original.

"And the Rājūkas disregard my proclamations, while my own subordinate officers will promulgate my opinion and orders".

This is an admittedly obscure passage which cannot yet be said to have been properly explained. We may first mention the authoritative versions that are already in the field. Bühler who took[2a] *laghaṃti* to be equivalent to Skt. *raṅghaṃte*[3] ('they hasten i.e. are eager') translated the whole passage as follows[4]: —

'But the *lajukas* are eager to serve me. My (other) servants also, who know my will, will serve (me)'.

Senart, who corrected *laghaṃṭi* into *caghaṃti* of the following passage and took *paṭicalati* to stand for Sans. *pari-carati,* gave the following translation[5]: —

"Les *rājūkas* s'appliquent à m'obéia; eux aussi les *purusas* obéiront à més volontés et à mes ordres".

Lüders connected *laghaṃti* with Skt. *arhanti,* 'they must' and held *pulisāni* to be the accusative plural of *pulisa.* His translation is as follows[6]: —

"Auch die Lājjukas müssen mir gehorchen und auch den Beamten die meinen willen kennen, werden sie gehorchen,"

which is parapharased by Hultzsch[7]: —

'The Lajūkas also must obey me. They will also obey the agents who know (my) wishes.'

More recently Professor S. K. Chatterji has proposed[8] to connect the root *lagh* with NIA *rah* to remain, and derive it

2a *E.I.,* Vol. II, p. 255.

3 Not *raghaṃte,* as alleged by Bhandarkar (*Aśoka,* p. 311, *n.* 4).

4 *EI.,* Vol. II, p. 253.

5 *Les Inscriptions du Piyadasi,* II, p. 42.

6 *SKPAW.,* 1913, p. 993.

7 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Revised edition, p. 124.

8 *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language,* pp. 1041-2.

from a hypothetical Indo-European root *régh-o, rgh-é*. He gives the following translation:—

"The Lajūkas also remain (are staying) to serve (to obey) me and they will also serve (obey) the officials who know my will."

Dr. Jayaswal evidently takes *paṭicalitave*, to be equivalent to Skt. *praticalitum*, 'to go against', and gives on this assumption a free translation of the above passage. This only adds one more to the list of hypothetical interpretations of the passage concerned. We, however, fail to understand why Dr. Jayaswal in the very next sentence translates *paṭicalisaṃti* as 'will promulgate', evidently making it stand for Skt. *paricālayiṣyanti*. Nor does he show any reason for rejecting Professor Lüders' construction of *pulisāni* as a plural accusative. Indeed if Dr. Jayaswal were consistent, he would have construed the whole passage in some such way as the following:—

"The Rājūkas, too, proceed to disregard me, and they will disregard those officers of mine, who know my wishes."

In any case, Dr. Jayaswal's interpretation, as it stands, is purely hypothetical and no certain conclusion can be based upon it.

The passage immediately following the one we have discussed above is usually read as follows:—

'*te pi ca kāni viyovadisaṃti yena mam lajūkā caghaṃti ālādhayitave*'.

Dr. Jayaswal proposes to correct *yena mama lajūkā* in the above into *ye na mam lajūkaṃ* which he alleges to be the reading of the Mathiah recension of PE. IV. Accordingly he translates this passage as follows[9]:—

9 *Hindu Polity*, Part II, p. 145.

"And they [*Rājūkas*] will advise the Provinces which wish to serve the Rājūkas, not me."

In connection with this passage we may observe that *te* is held by other authorities[10] to stand for the *purusas* of the preceding passage, while *ca kāni* are read as two independent words and *çaghamti* is taken in the sense of Skt. *śakṣyanti*. As Dr. Jayaswal gives no reason for differing from these interpretations, it is difficult to agree with his conclusions. Let us confine ourselves to the reading of the text in question. The above passage is completely preserved in three recensions, namely, Delhi-Topra, Radhiah and Mathiah, while it is imperfectly preserved in two other versions, namely, the Delhi-Meerut and the Rampurwa, and is altogether absent in the Allahabad version. Dr. Jayaswal apparently does not dispute the accepted reading *yena mam lajūkā* in the first two versions. Why, then, should the supposed reading of the single Mathiah version have the preference over that of the two other versions combined? How, again, to account for the sudden change from *lajūkā* in the plural into *lajūkam* in the singular? And going to the root of the matter, let us ask whether the reading on the Mathiah pillar is what is stated by Dr. Jayaswal. The answer is furnished by the mechanical copy of the transcript in Hultzsch's *Corpus*.

Another passage which ought to be mentioned in this connection occurs later on in the inscription and reads as follows: —

Ava (var. *āvā*) *ite pi ca me āvuti.*

10 Cf. Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 124, *n.* 9 and 10.

In the above *āvuti* has been held to be equivalent to Skt. *āyukti* ('order') by Senart whose view has been accepted by later scholars. As to *ava ite,* Senart translates it as 'from this day' (Skt. *yāvad itaḥ*), while Bühler explained it to mean 'even so far'.[10a] Dr. Jayaswal equates *ava ite* with Skt. *ava ṛte* for which he finds a parallel in the *Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā.* He also compares *āvuti* with Skt. *āvṛtti* which he claims on the authority of 'Monier William's' (*sic*) *Dict. s.v. ā-vṛ* to bear the sense of 'prayer'. His translation of the above passage accordingly is as follows: 'And though fallen from position, my prayer is that', on which he comments thus: "It is significant that the king now 'prays', and does not 'command' as in other documents".

In discussing this point we have first to observe that the reading *ava ite* occurs in two versions of PE. IV. (Delhi-Topra and Allahabad), while in three other versions (Radhiah, Mathiah and Rampurwa) it has the form *āvā ite.*[11] Dr. Jayaswal's suggested equivalence of *ava ite* with Vedic *ava ṛte* which in itself is extremely problematic, fails entirely to account for the word-form *āvā ite.* On the other hand, Bühler's rendering, which exactly fits in with the form *āvā ite,* is supported by Hultzsch[12] on the authority of *āvā-gamu* [*k*]*e* of the Dhauli and Jaugaḍa Separate Rock Edict I. We may also compare the words *āva saṃvaṭakapā* in RE. IV and V. In view of these difficulties it seems impossible to support Dr. Jayaswal's rendering of *ava ite*

10a For references see Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 125, *n.* 1 and 2.

11 The transcript of the Rampurwa version in Bhandarkar and Śāstrî (*op. cit.*, p. 70) under these words is a blank. This is evidently a slip.

12 *Op. cit.*, p. 125, *n.* 1.

given above. Turning to the word *āvuti* we find on a reference to the latest (1899) edition of Monier-Williams' *Dict.* (*s.v. ā-vṛ*) that its meanings are given in one place as 'to choose, desire, prefer', 'to fulfil', 'to grant (a wish)', while elsewhere it is taken to mean 'to cover, hide, conceal', 'to surround, enclose' etc. The first group of meanings is found mostly in the Vedic literature, and the second group in the classical literature. It is therefore incomprehensible how Monier-Williams' authority can be quoted for the explanation of *āvuti* as 'prayer'. On the other hand, Senart's rendering of the word is supported by the fact that *āvutike* of the Dhauli Separate Edict II corresponds to *āyutike* of the Jaugaḍa Separate Edict II.[13]

Finally, we may mention a few general considerations which tend to cast some doubt upon the correctness of Dr. Jayaswal's interpretation of PE. IV. Throughout the inscription the tone is that of one administering affairs on his own authority, not that of a person who has been forced to bow to the authority of others. Let us notice the significant expression *kaṭe* (Skt. *kṛtaḥ*) (instead of *kāritaḥ*) used no less than three times with reference to the vesting of authority in the Rājūkas. In the second place the author of the inscription is throughout anxious to declare the object of his administrative measure, namely, to secure the earthly and spiritual well-being of his subjects, and he closes with an important modification of the current rule relating to criminal trials, namely the grant of a respite of three days. Would not a sovereign who has been deprived of his authority by his ministers draw ridicule and contempt upon

13 Cf. Hultzsch, *loc. cit.*

himself by issuing appeals in public to those who had superseded him? As for Dr. Jayaswal's explanation of *janapada* as a Corporate Body, it has been disposed of by Dr. Narendra Nath Law[13a] whose arguments have not yet been seriously challenged. Lastly, we may mention that if the Rājūkas, as appears probable from our preceding discussion, were provincial officers, their supersession of the king would be altogether out of the question. The only Body which could properly deprive the king of his authority would be the Council of Ministers or the *Pariṣat*.

V

The authenticity of the Buddhist traditions of Aśoka's loss of sovereignty

In support of his contention that Aśoka was deprived of his sovereignty by his ministers, Dr. Jayaswal in addition to the alleged testimony of PE IV, brings forward the evidence of a story in the *Divyāvadāna*.[14] There we are told how the heir-apparent Saṃpadī, at the instance of the ministers prevented the Emperor from making further gifts from the Treasury to the monks, and how Aśoka's allowance was cut down till at last he received only half an *āmalaka* which he sent as his last offering to the Saṃgha.

The story in the *Divyāvadāna* forms the last of a cycle of four legends in this work (Nos. XXVI-XXIX) dealing with Aśoka's reign, and bearing the titles of *Pāṃśupradāna*, *Kunāla*, *Vītaśoka*, and *Aśoka*. These stories at first belonged to an

13a *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. II, pp. 385-407, 638-650.

14 Ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, pp. 429-34.

independent work which was completely incorporated in the *Divyāvadāna.*[15] The *Aśokāvadāna,* as this work is called, exists also in two Chinese versions, one of which, called the *A-yu wang tchouan,* was prepared by the Parthian Fa K'in about 300 A.D., and the other called *A-yu wang king* was written by the monk Saṃghabhara (?) of Fou-nan in 512 A.C. Considerable fragments of the *Aśokāvadāna* again occur in Chap. XXV of the Chinese version of the *Saṃyukta Āgama* which was prepared between 435 and 468 A.D. Three stories of the Aśokan cycle (including that of the Emperor's gift of half an *āmalaka* with which we are here concerned) are found in the collection of stories which has been called *Sūtrālaṃkāra* and attributed to the famous Aśvaghoṣa. The two Chinese versions of the *Aśokāvadāna* and the stories in the Chinese version of the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* have been made accessible to us in the French translations of Jean Przyluski and Edouard Huber respectively.[16]

A comparison of the parallel versions of the story of the gift of half *āmalaka* shows a common agreement on the point that Aśoka was deprived of his sovereign authority because of his extravagant donations to the Buddhist monks. This is shown in all the versions by the king's emphatic repudiation of

15 On the composition of the *Divyāvadāna* see the classical paper of Sylvain Lévi, *Les éléments de formation du Divyāvadāna,* in *T'oung Pao,* VIII, pp. 105-22.

16 See J. Przyluski, *La Légende de l'Empereur Açoka,* and Éd. Huber, *B.E.F.E.O.,* IV, pp. 709-726. The translations from the Chinese *Saṃyukta Āgama,* quoted below I owe to the kindness of Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi of the Calcutta University.

the ministers' courtly statement that he was still the sovereign.[17] The same note is struck in all the versions of the story in the message which Aśoka sends to the ministry along with his gift of half an *āmalaka* and the comment which the head of the ministry makes on receiving the same.[18]

Admitting the unanimity of our authorities on the point just mentioned, we have now to ask whether we are justified in treating their account as a historical fact. There seems to be no ground for assigning a high antiquity to the Buddhist story. "The *Gāthā* quoted by the *Divyāvadāna*," says Dr. Jayaswal,[19] "is more ancient than the compilation of the *Divyāvadāna* and the former could not have been composed many centuries after the event." This argument is not convincing, as the *Divyāvadāna*, according to competent authorities,[20] is not later in date than the second century A.D., and the result of this late date is

17 See *Divy.* p. 431:—*atha rājāśokaḥ sāśrudurdinanayanavadano' mātyān uvāca dākṣiṇyād anṛtam hi kiṃ kathayatha bhraṣṭādhirājyā vayaṃ śeṣam tvāmalakārdhamityavasitam yatra prabhutvam mama.* *B.E.F.E.O.*, IV, p. 723:—"Alors le roi prononça ces stances:—'Vous dites que j'exerce la royauté, et que mes ordres sont exécutés. C'est pour me flatter que vous parlez ainsi. Ce que vous dites n'est que mensonge. Mon autorité est mort, je ne dispose plus de rien"; Przyluski, *op. cit.*, p. 298:—"Le roi dit, "Vous êtes dans l'erreur quand vous dites que je suis le maitre. Je ne suis pas le maitre." Cf. new Tokyo ed. of the Tripiṭaka, II, *Saṃyukta Āgama*, ch. 25, p. 180b:—"You all are telling a lie to please me that I am the established king. But I have nothing which I can call mine own".

18 We refrain from quoting further references as they may be easily verified. We may note especially the significant expressions used of Aśoka in the *Divy.* story, (pp. 431-2), *bhraṣṭādhirājya*, *bhraṣṭāsthāyatana* and *hṛtādhikāra*.

19 *Hindu Polity*, Part II, p. 121.

20 Cf. Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indische Litteratur*, II, 222-3.

not likely to be much affected by the supposed relative priority of the *Gāthā*. A more weighty argument is that the story of *Aśoka's* gift of the half *āmalaka* occurs in the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* attributed to Aśvaghoṣa which helps to push back its date probably to the first century A.D. The relative antiquity of the story is also suggested by the fact that it is incorporated in the Chinese version of the *Saṃyukta Āgama* and is thus made to form part of the Canon. But even if the date could be pushed back with certainty to the first century of the Christian era, there would still be a gap of three centuries from Aśoka's time. Dr. Jayaswal's arguments from internal evidence in favour of the authenticity of the Buddhist story are equally unconvincing. "The monks," he says,[21] "were to gain nothing by an invention of such a story which (*sic*) threw discredit on a great personage of their religious history." A careful study of the story in its parallel versions, however, makes it quite clear that every detail of it, so far from throwing discredit upon the Emperor, is quite consistent with his position as a shining light of the faith, while serving to vindicate its cardinal principles. Indeed, if the Buddhist monks were to think of demonstrating doctrines like the evanescence of earthly greatness, the paramountcy of fate and so forth by the example of "a great personage of their religious history," they could not have done better than invent the story of the great Emperor, "the elephant among the Mauryas," who, when reduced by adverse circumstances from the position of 'Lord of Jambudvīpa' to that of 'the Lord of half an *āmalaka*', found solace in the words of the Master and gave

21 *Hindu Polity*, Part II, p. 122.

his last possession to the order. Witness for example the passionate words which break forth alike in Aśoka's own pathetic lament[22] and the grave comments of his associates.[23] But then, it is urged by Dr. Jayaswal,[24] the monks "would not have invented a story which would have been a bad precedent in case other monarchs wanting (*sic*) to imitate the munificence of the Maurya Emperor." In the form in which the story has come down to us in its complete versions there is no room for the monks' apprehension of the consequences contemplated by Dr. Jayaswal, for we are told, immediately after the account of

22 Cf. *Saṃyukta Āgama*, (p. 180):—"Oh, the wealth is to be greatly hated and abandoned. Besides let us remember the *gāthā* that Buddha has pronounced: Everything flourishing has its decline from which arises a gulf!" Cf. *B.E.F.E.O.*, IV, (p. 723):—"...La puissance est quelque chose de miserable. O combien elle est à mépriser!......Vraies et non pas vaines sont les paroles du Sublime......" Przyluski, *op. cit.*, p. 298:—"Oh! les richesses sont profondément méprisables...Les paroles du Buddha sont véridiques. Dans ses paroles, il n'est rien qui ne soit exact. Il a dit que tous ceux qui s'aiment ont la douleur de se séparer........."; *Divy.*, p. 431:—"......*aiśvaryyaṃ dhig anāryam uddhatanadītoyapravésopamam martyendrasya mamāpi yat pratibhayam dāridryam abhyāgatam athavā ko Bhagavato vākyam anyathā kariṣyati sampattayo hi sarvā vipattinidhanā iti pratijñātam.*"

23 In *B.E.F.E.O.*, IV, p. 725, the messenger who takes Aśoka's gift to the monks says of the Emperor:—"......Ses bons *karmans* sont épuisés; brusquement sa chûte est survenue. Trompé par ses *karmans*, il est sombré, il a perdu sa majesté, tel le soleil qui s'approche du couchant." In Przyluski, *op. cit.*, (p. 209) the Sthavira of the monastery on receiving the gift thus addressed the monks: "Il convient, à cause de cela, de ressentir pour la transmigration un dégout et une aversion profonds. Les richesses et les plaisirs s'évanouissent rapidement. La puissance et la souveraineté sont bientot perdues." In the *Divy.*, p. 432, the Saṃghasthavira says: "*bhadantā bhavantaḥ śakyam idānīṃ saṃvegam utpādayituṃ kutaḥ evaṃ hy uktam Bhagavatā paravipattiḥ saṃvejanīyam sthānam iti.*"

24 *Hindu Polity, loc. cit.*

the king's gift of his half *āmalaka,* that he gave away before his death his whole kingdom to the Saṃgha by a sealed deed of gift, and that the ministers so far respected the Emperor's act that they redeemed it from the monks by paying four *koṭis* of gold.[25] From the point of view of the Buddhist monks, then, there could be no better precedent for later "monarchs wanting to imitate the munificence of the great Emperor."

Even if we were to admit that the Buddhist story embodied a genuine historical tradition, it is difficult to follow Dr. Jayaswal when he acclaims it as 'the great constitutional datum on the reign of Aśoka'.[26] The parallel versions, in the first place, do not agree as to the authority that deprived Aśoka of his sovereignty. In the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* story,[27] we are told that when the Emperor urged his ministers to procure fresh treasures which he could bestow upon the monks, they refused to give him the same. According to the *A-yu wang tchouan.*[28] the heir-apparent Sampadī agreeing with the ministers deprived the king of all that belonged to him. In the *Divyāvadāna* story[29] Sam-

25 Przyluski, *op. cit.,* pp. 300-1. *Divy.,* pp. 432-3.

26 *Hindu Polity,* Part II, p. 121.

27 *B.E.F.E.O.,* IV, p. 723:—"Il exigea de ses ministres de lui procurer encore d'autres trésorsi mais ses ministres ne voulurent plus lui en donner."

28 Przyluski *op. cit.,* p. 298:—"Là-dessus Eulmo-t'i [Sampadi], d'accord avec les ministres, profita de la maladie du roi pour lui retirer tout ce qui lui appartenait." Cf. *Saṃyukta Āgama:*—"At this the prince (San-po-ti) promptly ordered that no treasure should go out for the use of the great king (=Mahārāja)."

29 P. 430:—*tasmiṃś ca samaye Kunālasya Sampadī nāma putro yuvarājye pravartate tasyāmātyair abhihitam. Kumāra Aśoko rājā svalpakālāvasthāyī idam ca dravyaṃ kurkuṭārāmaṃ preṣyate kośabalinaśca rājāno, nivartayitavyaḥ yāvat kumāreṇa bhāṇḍāgārikaḥ pratiṣiddhaḥ.*

padī acting in accordance with the advice of his ministers forbade the treasurer to send Aśoka's gift to the monastery. When Dr. Jayaswal makes out[29a] "Chancellor Rādhagupta", whom he thinks[29b] with true historical insight to be 'probably a descendant of Viṣṇugupta' (Kauṭilya), to refuse further gifts to the Buddhist Saṃgha on the orders of Aśoka, he overlooks the fact that Rādhagupta's name is not mentioned in any version among the ministers responsible for the revolution, while the *A-yu wang tchouan* expressly states that he advised the gift of the whole four *koṭis* to the monks, but the bad ministers advised the heir-apparent otherwise. Dr. Jayaswal is not quite correct in saying[30] that the Buddhist monks do not call the ministers sinful for their act. The version of the *A-yu wang tchouan* explicitly states that it was the bad ministers of perverse views ("de mauvais ministres aux vues perverses") that advised the heir-apparent. Indeed it is clear both from the accounts of *A-yu wang tchouan* and the *Divyāvadāna* that the monks regarded the action of the heir-apparent and ministers as an act of usurpation. For we read in the former work,[31] 'Aujourd' hui il est gouverné par la foule de ses sujets," while the *Divyāvadāna* says, *Bhṛtyaiḥ sa bhūmipatir adya hṛtādhikāraḥ.*" If any doubt were left on this point, we would refer to the description (which is common to all versions) of the circumstances under which Aśoka was deprived of his sovereignty. The Emperor, we are told, had fallen ill and grieved that the balance of 4 *koṭis* out of his contemplated gift of one thousand *koṭis* to the

29a *Hindu Polity*, Part II, p. 120. 29b *Ibid.*, p. 146 *n.*
30 *Ibid.*, p. 146. 31 Przyluski, *op. cit.*, p. 299. 32 P. 432.

Saṃgha was yet unpaid. When he proceeded to send the gifts to the Kukkuṭārāma monastery, the ministers told the heir-apparent that Aśoka had not long to live and was dissipating the treasure, and that since the strength of kings lay in the treasury, this ought to be prevented.[33] It was thus not in vindication of "the constitutional law" of the country but in the interests of the prospective successor to the throne that the ministers advised, if the Buddhist tradition is to be believed, the withdrawal of sovereign authority from the great Maurya.

[*A Note on the Orthography of the Early Brāhmī Inscriptions in the matter of Indication of the Double Consonants*

By Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji

T. W. Rhys Davids already noted in his *Buddhist India* (pp. 130-1) that in the early orthography of the inscriptions what was actually a double consonant in pronunciation was written by a single consonant: *s* k^i *y* n^m, according to him, may have been either *Sākiyānāṃ* or *Sakkiyānaṃ*.

The early Brāhmī orthography was not a rigorous but only a haphazard one. The device of putting one consonant on the top of another to indicate a group may be said to be just coming in voguge, for we find a great deal of hesitancy and obvi-

33 Cf. Przyluski, (*op. cit.*, pp. 296-7):—"Puis le roi Aśoka tomba malade et, sachant qu'il allait mourir, il pleura et fut affligé......Alors le roi donna de l'or de l'argent et des objets précieux au monastère de Kukkuṭa-ārāma...De mauvais ministres aux vues perverses dirent au prince héritier: 'Le roi Aśoka approche du terme de sa vie; il dissipe ses tresors et, donnant tout, il est sur le point de se ruiner. Vous serez roi; or les trésors et les objets précieux constituent lès resources d'un roi; il faut maintenant empêcher qu'ils ne soient complètement dissipés.' *Divy.*, pp. 429-30 has practically the same account. Even in the version of the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* (*BEFEO.*, IV, p. 723) the occasion of the Emperor's being deprived of his authority is said to be that he fell seriously ill.

ous mistake in the proper writing of some of these groups (e.g., *yv* for *vy* in *katayvo* for *kattavvyo* as in Girnar). Even though groups of dissimilar consonants would be attempted to be indicated (e.g., *tp, vy, mh, pr, sṭ,* as in Girnar), the same consonant doubled was never expressed in the orthography as such: there are no cases of *kk, gg, pp, tt,* etc.

A double consonant is really a long consonant. To indicate this long consonant, the early Indian scribes who used the Brāhmī alphabet either (i) wrote a single consonant, leaving it to the reader's acquaintance with the language to enable him to pronounce it doubly (or long) in the right place (we may compare with it the use of short vowels for long ones in the Kharoṣṭhī script); or (ii) in some rare cases, it seems they transferred the length-mark to the preceding vowel, i.e. made the preceding vowel long when the consonant immediately after that vowel was pronounced long (or double). Thus, *varṣa>vassa* would be written (i) either as *văsa,* (ii) or as *vāsa*; *cikitsā>cikicchā* as (i) *cikĭchā* (ii) or as *cikīchā*. The lengthening of the vowel as an orthographical device in this connexion is rather uncommon, and is found mainly at Girnar; *rāñā=răññā, rāño=r393ñño* (cf. in a local i.e. Gujarat Kṣatrapa coin the transcription in Greek characters as PANNIO=*rannio=răñño*), *vāsa=văssa, yāta=yătta-* (<*yătra-*), *sūpāthāya=sūpătthāya* (<*sūpārthāya*), etc.

The subsequent history of Indo-Aryan, as in the Prākṛts and the Modern Vernaculars, amply demonstrates that in the 3rd century B.C. and later, the double (or long) consonant pronunciation was the one actually current, and at this early period the modern or vernacular habit of dropping one member of a double consonant group with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel could not have been established. Thus, Old Indo-Aryan *bhakta*>Middle Indo-Aryan *bhătta*>New Indo-Aryan *bhāta*; Old Indo-Aryan, *anya*>Middle Indo-Aryan *ăṇṇa, ăñña*>New Indo-Aryan *āna*; *kārya>kăjja>kāja* etc. The *bhāta, āna* and *kāja* stage, as apparently suggested by the inscriptional orthographies (rare enough as they are) *vāsa* and *rāño* (for *văssa* and *răñño*), could not possibly have characterised

early Middle Indo-Aryan of the 3rd century B.C. The long *-ās-* and *āñ-* can only be taken as an orthographic device for *-ass-* and *-aññ-*. As regards the word *rājūka-răjuka-lăjuka,* the spellings with *ă-* (*răjuka, lăjuka*) show that we do not have the Skt. word *rājan* here. The word in the vernacular was evidently pronounced as *răjjūka* or *lăjjūka* (<*răjju* + *ka* or *rajju* + *uka*); and *răjju-* could evidently be written either as *rāju-* or as *răju,* as we have seen above; and *lăju-*, of course, is the graphic device for *lăjju-*, which was the Eastern form of the word.

SLAVERY IN ANCIENT INDIA—A STUDY IN INDIA'S SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

Megasthenes, writing his account of India towards the beginning of the third century B.C., remarked that the Indians did not use aliens as slaves, much less a countryman of their own.[1] Whether this memorable pronouncement was the result, as has been held, of the Greek's experience of the unusual mildness of the system in vogue among the Indians,[2] or else of the same idealizing tendency that runs through Tacitus's

ABBREVIATIONS:

CHI.,	=*The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Ancient India. Edited by E. J. Rapson, Cambridge, 1922.
Jāt.	=*The Jātaka*, ed. by V. Fausböll, Vols. I-VI, 1877-96.
Kane, *H.D.*	=P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Pt. I, Poona, 1941
Kane, *K.S.S.*	=P. V. Kane, *Kātyāyanasmṛtisāroddhāra* or *Kātyāyanasmṛti on Vyavahāra* (*Law and Procedure*). Text (reconstructed), Translation, Notes and Introduction, Bombay, 1933
Nārada.	=The references in Roman numerals are to the sections on judicial procedure (*Vyavahārapadam*) and those in Arabic numerals are to the verses in Julius Jolly's edition, Calcutta, 1885
Rangaswami, *A.K.*	=K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Additional Verses of Kātyāyana on Vyavahāra* in *A Volume of Studies in Indology presented to Prof. P. V. Kane*, Poona, 1941

1 MacCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, p. 71.

2 Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 263. Cf. *CHI.*, p. 416.

Germania,[3] it is difficult to decide. Nevertheless, it is but a truism to say that the whole history of India in early times reveals the existence of slavery as a recognised institution. In the *Ṛgveda*, the word *dāsa* or *dasyu* is used to mean the unconquered aborigines as well as the subjugated slave,—a proof, no doubt, of the frequency with which individuals of the former class could be and were changed into the second. To judge from historical analogies, capture in war must have been at this period one of the chief sources of slavery. But that an Aryan freeman could also be reduced to slavery for debt seems to follow from a passage in the famous dicing hymn in which the parents and brothers of a gamester are made to say,[4] "We know him not, take him away bound." Of the kinds of work allotted to the slave and of his status in general, we have as yet no information, though the slaves are mentioned sometimes among the objects of priestly gift (*dakṣinā*).[5] In this age of general simplicity the slave presumably was regarded as a member of the master's household, and in any case he must have held a minor place in the public economy in comparison with the free labourer.[6] The following period, that of the later *Saṃhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, undoubtedly introduced more complex social conditions, of which the outward symptoms

3 Cf. Jolly and Schmidt, *Arthaśāstra* ed., Vol. I, Introduction, p. 38.

4 *Ṛv.* x, 34, 4.

5 Cf. *Ṛv.* VIII, 19. 36. For similar references to gifts of slaves in later Vedic literature see Kane, *H.D.*, Ch. v, Slavery, pp. 180-2.

6 Cf. A. B. Keith (in *CHI.*, p. 101): "The Ṛgveda unquestionably presents us with a society which is not dependent on [slave] labour, and in which the ordinary tasks of life are carried out by the freemen of the tribe."

were the emergence of a developed city-life, the improvement of agriculture, and above all the multiplication and specialisation of industries.[7] Nevertheless, though we have references as in the story of Kavaṣa Ailūṣa[8] to the degraded condition of the slaves, there does not appear to have occurred at this epoch any striking change in the character or extent of this institution.[9] Indeed *Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra* strikes a note of remarkable humanism when it says[9a] that one may stint himself, his wife or son as to food, but not a *dāsa* who does his menial work.

It is in the following period that we are first introduced, in connection with the remarkably vivid and objective pictures of social life in the Pāli canon and specially in the *Jātakas*, amid what seems the old economic environment,[10] to a somewhat full

7 Cf. Keith *op. cit.*, pp. 117-8, 135-7.

8 *Ait. Br.*, II, 19, *Kauṣ. Br.*, XII, 1, 3 where the seer Kavaṣa Ailūṣa as a supposed *dāsīputra* is held to be unfit for participation in the Soma sacrifice.

9 Prof. Keith conjectures (*op. cit.*, p. 128) that during the above period, "For the peasant working on his own fields was being substituted the land-owner cultivating his estate by means of slaves, or the merchant carrying on his trade by the same instrumentality." But the evidence for such a supposed transformation is of the slenderest kind, and all that we know of subsequent times belies the possibility of its happening. Even of such a comparatively late period as that of the early Buddhist literature, we are told by a competent authority (Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 55):—"We hear nothing of such later developments of slavery as rendered the Greek mines, the Roman *latifundia*, the plantations of Christian slave-owners, scenes of misery and oppression."

9a II, 4. 9. 11:—*Kāmamātmānam bhāryām putram voparundhyānna tveva dāsakarmakaram.*

10 Cf. Mrs. Rhys Davids (in *CHI.*, p. 198):—"The rural economy of India at the coming of Buddhism was based chiefly on a system of village communities. The *Jātaka* bears very clear testimony to this. There is no

knowledge of Indian slavery. According to a passage in the *Suttavibhaṅga* section of the *Vinaya Piṭaka*[11] slaves are of three classes, *viz.*, those born in the master's house, those acquired by purchase and those captured in war. Again, a *Gāthā*[12] occurring as well in a *Jātaka* story as in a passage of the *Niddesa* mentions four kinds of slaves, *viz.*, those who are slaves from their mothers, those who are bought for money, those who are slaves of their own free will, and those who are driven to slavery by fear. An alternative list combining both these groups was remembered in the Buddhist tradition as late as the fifth century A.D.[13] The *Jātakas* contain concrete illustrations of most of these classes[14] besides mentioning instances of persons reduced

such clear testimony in it to isolated large estates or to great feudatories or to absolute lords of the soil holding such estates."

11 P. T. S. ed., Vol. IV, p. 224: *dāso nāma antojāto dhanakkīto karamarānīto.*

12 *Āmāyadāsāpi bhavanti h'eke,*
dhanena kītāpi bhavanti dāsā,
sayam pi h'eke upayanti dāsā,
bhayā paṇunnāpi bhavanti dāsā.
Quoted in *Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka* (Fausböll's ed., Vol. VI, p. 285), and *Niddesa*, I. II.

13 See, *e.g.* the passage in Buddhaghosa's *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* (P. T. S. edition, Part I, p. 168); *dāso ti antojāta-dhanakkīta-karamarānīta-sāmaṃ dāsabyam upagatānaṃ aññataro.*

14 Reference to a slave born in the master's house occurs in the *Kaṭāhaka Jāt.* (Vol. I, pp. 451 ff.); to the purchase of slaves in the *Sattubhasta Jātaka* (Vol. III, p. 343); to the capture and enslavement of persons by frontier robbers in the *Cullanārada Jātaka* (Vol. IV, p. 220); to voluntary enslavement through fear in the *Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka* (Vol. VI, p. 138) where Prince Candakumāra, speaking as the mouthpiece of the intended victims if his father's sacrifice, begs for life even at the cost of being reduced to a slave's status. In the *Mahāsutasoma Jātaka* (Vol. V, p. 497), King Brahmadatta decides to intercede for the captive kings, thinking that otherwise the man-eater

to slavery by way of judicial punishment.[15] An interesting sidelight is thrown upon the economic conditions of the time by a casual observation made in one of the above passages[16] to the effect that 700 *kārṣāpaṇas* were held to be sufficient for purchasing a male or a female slave.[17] From various other passages the slave appears to have been usually employed in performing the ordinary household duties.[18] But there is a remarkable instance[19]—remarkable in view of the degraded

(*porisādo*) Sutasoma would settle them in the forest as his slaves or else take them to the frontier and sell them. References to prisoners of war being reduced to slavery are found in Mahānānāradakassapajātaka, (*Jāt.* VI, p. 220). A historical instance of this kind is furnished by Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII mentioning as an ordinary incident of warfare the wholesale enslavement of the conquered inhabitants of Kaliṅga.

15 In the *Kulāvaka Jātaka* (Vol. I, p. 200) we are told how a wicked village superintendent (*gāmabhojaka*) was condemned by the king to be the slave of the villagers. In the *Mahāummagga Jātaka* (Vol. VI, p. 389) the king at the intercession of the wise man Mahosadha spares the lives of the four guilty ministers and condemns them to be his slaves. On the other hand a passage in the *Vessantara Jātaka* (Vol. VI, p. 521), which has been taken (Mrs. Rhys Davids, in *CHI.*, p. 205, and *n*6) to refer to slavery incurred for debt, simply describes in our view the giving away of a daughter in marriage for failure to return money kept in deposit.

16 See *Jāt.* Vol. III, p. 343. On the other hand slaves apparently of the cheapest sort could be purchased for 100 pieces (*kārṣāpaṇas?*); hence the frequent use of such expression as 'meek as a 100-piece slave-girl'. (*Cf. Durājāna Jātaka,* Vol. I, p. 299).

17 *Kārṣāpaṇas,* as is well-known, were of three varieties, gold, silver and copper (*cf.* Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, *Ancient Indian Numismatics,* Ch. III). There can be little doubt that in the above passage silver *kārṣāpaṇas* are meant, for a gold or a copper coin of the same designation would be too high or too low a price to pay for a slave.

18 *Cf.* Fick, *Die Sociale Gliederung* etc., p. 199 (English translation by Sisir Kumar Maitra p. 311); *JBORS.*, Vol. IX, p. 372.

19 See the *Kaṭāhaka Jātaka* cited above.

occupation assigned to the slave subsequently in the Brahmanical *Smṛtis*,—of a born slave acting as the private secretary of his master. The treatment of the slave, in other respects, seems to have depended upon the temperament or even the varying mood of his owner. We find, *e.g.* in the instance just cited, "the slave, pẹtted, permitted to learn writing and handicrafts besides his ordinary duties as valet and footman, saying to himself that at the slightest fault he might get beaten, imprisoned, branded and fed on a slave's fare."[20] This seems to suggest, as has been held,[21] that the slave as yet had no legal protection against his master. Indeed a Jātaka text actually refers to the master's absolute right over his slave.[22] The evil custom of keeping slaves in fetters does not appear to have been altogether unknown.[23] Runaway slaves, again, it would seem, were forcibly taken back by their owners.[24] On the other hand there are few instances in the Buddhist literature of this period of

20 Mrs. Rhys Davids, in *CHI.*, p. 205.

21 *Cf.* Fick, *op. cit.*, English tr. pp. 306, 308.

22 The passage, which is quoted by Ratilal Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India,* p. 210, occurs in Vidhurapaṇḍitajātaka *Jāt.* VI, p. 300 and is as follows: *ayiro hi dāsassa janinda issaro.*

23 In the passage from the *Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka* already quoted, the prince offers along with the other victims to serve bound in fetters if he is saved from death.

24 See the *Vinaya Piṭakam,* P. T. S. ed., Vol. 1, p. 76. Reference to the general depression of a slave's condition occurs in a passage of the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* (*Dīgha Nikāya,* P. T. S. ed., Vol. 1, p. 72) which pointedly describes the joy of a slave "not his own master, subject to another, unable to go whither he would," after he had been "emancipated from that slavery, become his own master, not subject to others, a freeman, free to go whither he would."

actual maltreatment on the part of the masters.[25] The slave could secure manumission by the master's favour or even by purchase.[26]

Such seems to have been the state of slavery in the period which we are now treating. To realise the influence of Buddhism upon this institution, it is well to remember that according to the tradition Buddha, while deprecating in his own person the acceptance of slaves,[27] so far respected the master's right of ownership that he forbade admission to the Saṃgha to the unmanumitted slave.[28] Nevertheless, we have at least two recorded instances of liberation, by a distinguished disciple of the Master, of his slaves who rose thereafter to the rank of saints in the Buddhist Church.[29] A more

25 Mrs. Rhys Davids (in *CHI.*, p. 205) mentions two instances of beating of female slaves (*Majj. N.*, I, 125, *Jāt.*, Vol. I, pp. 402 ff.). A more striking example occurs in a passage of the *Puggala Paññatti* (P. T. S. ed., p. 56), which mentions slaves carrying out the king's orders, "impelled by whip, impelled by fear, weeping with tears upon their faces." The pathetic story of the children of King Vessantara being ill-treated by their cruel master the Brahman Jājaka, is meant so obviously for the purpose of moral edification as to lose much of its value as a contemporary picture of social life.

26 See, *e.g.*, the passage in the *Sona-Nanda Jātaka* (Vol. V, p. 313) where a pious family is described as retiring to the Himalayas after liberating their slaves (*dāsajanam bhujissam katvā*). Also compare the *Vessantara Jātaka* (Vol. VI, p. 577) where the king at the time of giving away his children in slavery, fixes their ransom which it afterwards paid by their grandfather.

27 *Cf.* the passage in the *Dīgha Nikāya* (I. 1, 10) where non-acceptance of a male or a female slave is mentioned among the Buddha's notable characteristics.

28 See *e.g.*, the *Vinaya Piṭakam, loc. cit.*,:—*na dāso pabbājetabbo.*

29 The references are to the male slave Dāsaka and the female slave Puṇṇā or Puṇṇikā mentioned as the authors of Gāthās in the *Theragāthā* P. T. S. ed. p. 4) and *Therigāthā* (P. T. S. ed. p. 123). Both are mentioned

important fruit of Buddha's teaching in this direction is revealed in Aśoka's edicts[30] including the kind treatment of slaves as well as servants.[31]

The Arthaśāstra and the Dharmaśāstras which introduce us to the epoch of known codes of law, naturally deal with the institution of slavery at great length, though we have no reasons to believe from the available evidence that there was any change in the fundamental economic conditions of the country. Both these sets of authorities, to begin with, distinguish between the slaves and other workers. Kauṭilya, *e.g.*, in his two chapters[31a] bearing the title *dāsakarmakarakalpa* separately treats the rules relating to the slaves (*dāsas*) and various grades of workers, e.g., agricultural labourers, herdsmen, merchants, artizans, physicians, hired servants, and even priests officiating at the sacrifices. In a similar manner Nārada,[32] whose treatment of the subject is the most complete, distinguishes the slaves from the workers (*karmakaras*) of four specified grades, while including both under the common designation of persons bound to obedience (*śuśrūṣakas*). This distinction turns principally upon the difference of employment, impure work[33] being reserved for the slaves and work of a pure

in the *Paramatthadīpanī* (P. T. S. edition pp. 73, 200) as having been liberated by their master Anāthapiṇḍika.

30 See, *e.g.*, the Rock Edict No. XI, and the Pillar Edict No. VII.

31 May we in view of the above facts compare the influence of Buddhism upon slavery with that of Christianity in the early centuries of its existence?

31a III, 13 & 14.

32 V, 2-3.

33 Such as sweeping the doorways, the place for depositing filth, and the rubbish-heap; gathering and removing the leavings of food, ordure and urine and rubbing the master's limbs at his wish. Cf. Nārada, V, 6-7.

character being entrusted to the best. Among the slaves themselves different grades and classes are distinguished in the *Arthaśāstra* and *Smṛtis*, these being subject to separate causes and provisions of the law. In Kauṭilya's list,[34] *e.g.*, the following may be clearly distinguished: (*a*) slaves acquired by purchase in various ways, *e.g.*, of minors from the hands of kinsmen and strangers, (*b*) persons given as pledge (*āhitaka*) whether by themselves or by others, (*c*) born slaves (*udaradāsa*) and persons born of female slaves in the master's household (*gṛhejāta*), (*d*) slaves by way of punishment (*daṇḍapraṇīta*), (*e*) slaves obtained by inheritance (*dāyāgata*), (*f*) slaves received by gift (*labdha*). According to Manu[35] slaves are of seven kinds, (*a*) one taken captive 'under a standard,' *i.e.*, in warfare (*dhvajāhṛta*), (*b*) one who serves for maintenance (*bhaktadāsa*), (*c*) one born of a female slave in the master's house (*gṛhaja*), (*d*) one purchased (*krīta*), (*e*) one acquired by gift (*datrima*), (*f*) one acquired by inheritance from ancestors (*paitṛka*), (*g*) one enslaved by way of punishment (*daṇḍadāsa*). Nārada[36] mentions no less than fifteen kinds of slaves, *viz.*, (*a*) one born of a female slave in the master's house, (*b*) one acquired by purchase, (*c*) one received through gift (*d*) one acquired by inheritance, (*e*) one maintained during famine (*f*) one given as pledge (*g*) one released from a heavy debt (*h*) one taken captive in war, (*i*) one won in a stake, (*j*) one offering himself for a slave, (*k*) one serving for a specified term, (*l*) one who serves for maintenance (*m*) one who accepts slavery out of desire for a female slave, (*n*) one self-sold, (*o*) one fallen from the monastic life.

34 III, 13. 35 VIII, 415. 36 V, 26-28.

In connection with the sources of slavery mentioned above, a few points may be noted in the present place. Regarding the class of purchased slaves it may be observed that elsewhere Nārada,[37] while describing the different kinds of wives, mentions a class of wanton women (*svairiṇī*) who are acquired by purchase (*dhanakrītā*), and he goes on to state that the issue of a woman who is purchased for a price (*śulka*) belongs to the begetter. Mention may be made here of the rule of Kātyāyana, Kane, *KSS.*, vv. 693-94 allowing the benefit of half a month in case of sale of a male slave and twice as much in case of sale of a female slave to the purchaser in case the purchase was made without examination. We may further observe in this connection that the evil practice of fathers selling their children into slavery, though condemned in general terms by Manu,[38] Yājñavalkya[39] and Viṣṇu[40] as well as in a *Mahābhārata* text[40a] was actually resorted to in times of distress in the early centuries of the Christian era.[41] Reference to the class of inherited slaves is found in a rule of Kātyāyana *KSS.*, vv. 882-83, including slaves in the class of property that should be enjoyed by co-sharers in common at the proper time. A vivid illustration of another class of slaves is furnished by a passage in the second Act of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* drama where the gambler Saṃvāhaka offers his own person for sale in the

37 XII, 51; 54.
38 XI, 61.
39 III, 236.
40 XXXVII, 6.
40a XIII, 45, 23.
41 See, *e.g.*, the text of the *Milindapañho* (IV. 8. 7) where Nāgasena discoursing on the dilemma of King Vessantara's "mighty giving" of his children unto slavery mentions as an acknowledged custom, the act of pledging or selling the son on the part of a father, falling into debt or losing his livelihood.

open street for the sum of ten *suvarṇas* which he owes to the gambling-master Māthura.

Comparing the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Dharmaśāstra* rules on the subject of slavery, we are first struck with the radical attitude of Kauṭilya which is based on his conception of the rights of the Aryan freeman, not to say those of the individual man. Kauṭilya, *e.g.*, imposes[42] penalties increasing, it is true, in degree with the social status of the party injured, for the sale and mortgage of a minor Śūdra, Vaiśya, Kṣatriya and Brāhmaṇa, the only exception being made in the case of the born slave. In the same context he prescribes half the above scale of penalties for the offence of 'depriving of his Aryan character' even a slave guilty of stealing wealth. In this connection he lays down the memorable maxim[43] that while the sale and mortgage of children are permissible among barbarians, no Aryan should be reduced to slavery. On the other hand, the general tendency of the Smṛtikāras is to emphasize the rights of the twice-born classes and specially of the Brāhmaṇas to the exclusion of those of the Śūdras. To borrow a modern expression, while the *Arthaśāstra* insists, in the main, upon the principle of nationality, the *Dharmaśāstra* lays stress upon the principle of birth and social status. Manu,[44] *e.g.*, while imposing a heavy fine upon a Brāhmaṇa for forcibly reducing an initiated person of the higher classes to servile work, expressly

42 III, 13. Kauṭilya however, permits the mortgage of an Aryan as a temporary and an emergency measure.

43 The text is as follows:—*mlecchānāmadoṣaḥ prajām vikretumādhātum vā na tvevāryasya dāsabhāvaḥ.*

44 VIII, 412-413.

allows him this right with respect to the Śūdras, and he repeats in this connection the favourite Brāhmaṇical doctrine of the Śūdra's divinely ordained duty of service. A slight tincture of humanity is found in a text[45] of Jaimini's *Mīmāṃsāsūtras* to the effect that a man making a gift of everything in the *Viśvajit* sacrifice cannot give away the Śūdra who waits upon him out of duty. Yājñavalkya,[46] Nārada[47] and Kātyāyana[48] lay down in the same spirit the maxim that slavery should be in the *anuloma* and not in the *pratiloma* order, Nārada making a significant exception in the case of one who has renounced the duties of his order. Viṣṇu[49] imposes the penalty of the highest amercement upon a person who employs an individual of high caste in servile work. Kātyāyana[50] goes so far as to declare categorically that slavery pertains to the three lower classes but not to the Brāhmaṇas, and he further declares, if Caṇḍeśvara's reading of the text[51] be accepted as correct, that a Brāhmaṇa should not be enslaved even by an individual of his own caste. When a Brāhmaṇa is enslaved, Kātyāyana continues, the king's lustre is destroyed, and he

45 *Śūdraśca dharmaśāstratvāt, Mīmāṃsāsūtras*, VI, 7. 6.

46 II, 183.

47 V, 39.

48 Quoted in *Parāśaramādhava*, Bib. Ind. ed., p. 341. [=Kane, *KSS.*, v. 716].

49 Quoted, *ibid.*, p. 154.

50 Quoted in *Vivādaratnākara*, p. 152. [=Kane, *KSS.*, v, 715].

51 Caṇḍeśvara reads: *samavarṇe'pi viprantu dāsatvam naiva kārayet.* On the other hand Mādhava's reading of this passage (*Par.*, p. 342) is '*asavarṇe tu viprasya dāsatvam naiva kārayet,*' which he takes to imply that a Brāhmaṇa could be the slave of a person of his own class. Kane, *KSS.*, v, 717 also gives the reading *samavarṇopiviprantu* on the authority of Aparārka etc. as well as that of *samavarṇepi* according to Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa's *Smṛti-Candrikā*.

quotes Bṛhaspati to the effect that while the rule of the Kṣatriya, the Vaiśya and the Śūdra permits their enslavement by persons of their own order, a Brāhmaṇa should not be employed on servile work.[52] In the same spirit Kātyāyana declares[53] the sale or purchase of a Brāhmaṇa woman into slavery to be invalid and the seller or buyer thereof to be punishable.

(It would seem to follow from the above that the general tendency of the *Dharmaśāstras* was to eliminate, or at least restrict, the class of high-born slaves.) It was apparently for this reason that the condition of the slave in the Smṛti literature shows, on the whole, as compared with the *Arthaśāstra*, a change for the worse. Kauṭilya, *e.g.*, mentions[54] the act of causing the removal of dead bodies or ordure or urine or the leavings of food by a pledged person to involve forfeiture of the deposit. On the other hand Nārada[55] tacitly sanctions this treatment by including the pledged person in his list of slaves for whom work of an impure character such as that mentioned above is expressly reserved. More explicit is the testimony of Kātyāyana[56] who reserves work of the above kind for the issue of female slaves. Again Kauṭilya, in the context in which the above passage occurs, mentions various penalties for maltreat-

52 Kane, *KSS.*, v, 718. Kātyāyana indeed declares that when a Brāhmaṇa performs servile work out of his own free will, it must not be of an impure character. See the text quoted in *Par.*, p. 342 and *Vivāda.*, p. 152, together with the commentary of Mādhava.

53 *ādadyād-brāhmaṇīm yastu vikrīṇīta tathaiva ca|*
rājñā tadakṛtaṃ kāryaṃ daṇḍyāḥ syuḥ sarva eva te|| Kane, *KSS.*, v, 726.

54 III, 13.

55 v, 6; 26.

56 Kane *KSS.*, v, 720.

ment of different kinds of slaves. For keeping in a state of nudity or tormenting or punishing a pledged person, *e.g.*, the deposit-money is to be forfeited. For improper conduct (*atikramaṇa*) towards women of this class the same penalty is ordained, and if these belong to various specified classes of nurses and attendants, they are decreed to be liberated. For violating a pledged female nurse without her consent, the punishment should be the first or the middle amercement, according as the woman is under the offender's own control or not. For corrupting a pledged girl of this class the deposit-money should be forfeited, and the marriage portion (*śulka*) should be paid along with double the amount as fine.[57] For selling or pledging a pregnant female slave without providing for her maintenance (*dāsīm vā sagarbhāmaprativihita-bharmaṇyām*), the offender along with the purchaser and the person contracting should be punished with the first amercement. The same punishment should be inflicted for selling or pledging by force in a foreign land and on mean work a person less than eight years of age belonging to certain specified classes of slaves. For again selling or mortgaging a male or female slave after having once redeemed such a person, a fine of twelve *paṇas* should be levied unless the slave gives his consent thereto. In the body of the Brāhmaṇical Smṛtis such wise and humane rules are in general completely absent. Yājña-valkya indeed imposes[58] a fine upon a man violating a female

57 In another place IV, 12 Kauṭilya decrees similar penalties for defiling the free daughter of a male or of a female slave as well as a female suitable for ransom.

58 II, 290.

slave. With this may be compared a provision of Kātyāyana[59] inflicting a fine upon a person who, though well off, sells a female slave faithful to her master and unwilling to part from him. Manu[60] on the other hand, sanctions the right of chastisement with respect to an offending wife, son, uterine brother, pupil and slave, while making the important reservation that the infliction of chastisement on a "noble part" of the body is punishable as theft.

As with the personal rights of the slave, so with his rights of property. Kauṭilya[61] allows the self-sold slave along with the born slave and the person pledged, to retain what he earns without prejudice to his master's work and even inherit from his ancestors. In the same context he permits the slave acquired by purchase to transmit his property to his kinsmen in whose default alone it should vest in the master. On the other hand Manu[62] lays down the remarkable dictum repeated later on by Nārada,[63] Devala and Kātyāyana,[64] to the effect that the wife, the son and the slave have no property of their own and whatever they earn belongs to their owner. Exceptions to this general rule, however, are made by the writers abovementioned,

59 Kane, KSS., v, 729:—
vikrośamānāṃ yo bhaktāṃ dāsīṃ vikretumicchati|
anāpadisthaḥ śaktah sanprāpnuyād-dviśataṃ damaṃ||

60 VII. 299-300.

61 III, 13.

62 VII, 416: *bhāryā putraśca dāsaśca traya evādhanāḥ smṛtāḥ|*
yatte samādhigacchanti yasta te tasya taddhanam||

63 V, 41.

64 Quoted in *Vivāda.*, p. 450. [=Kane, *KSS.*, v. 724 which is as follows:—
dāsasya tu dhanaṃ yatsyātsvāmī tasya prabhuḥ smṛtaḥ|
prakāśaṃ vikrayādyattu na svāmī dhanamarhati||.

expressly in the case of the wife and the son[65] and by implication in the case of the slave. Manu[66] and Yājñavalkya,[67] indeed, expressly permit a Śūdra father to give at his discretion a share of the inheritance to his son by a female slave. Yājñavalkya[68] adds that in such a case when the father dies, the slave's son should have a half share if there are legitimate sons, and a full share if there are no such sons and no daughter's sons. In the passage above quoted, Kātyāyana excepts from the general rule relating to the slave's disability of ownership property acquired by means of 'open sale'.[69]

Turning to the rules of emancipation, we find the same difference in the spirit of the *Arthaśāstra* and the *Dharmaśāstra.* Kauṭilya[70] permits the self-sold slave together with the born slave and the person pledged to purchase their freedom, provision being made in the case of the former that the ransom should correspond to the price paid (*prakṣepānurūpaścāsya niṣkrayaḥ*). For neglecting to liberate the slave on payment of a corresponding ransom, and for detaining a slave without reason, Kauṭilya prescribes a small fine. In the same context he declares that the person enslaved by way of punishment (*daṇḍapraṇīta*) should receive his freedom by performing work and the free-

65 See *e.g.*, Manu, IX, 194, 206; Yāj., II, 114, 118-119.

66 IX, 179.

67 II, 133.

68 II, 134.

69 Kane, *KSS.*, V, 724:—*Prakāśam vikrayādyattu na svāmi dhanamarhati.* Kane, *KSS.*, p. 267 *n* thinks that the reading *prasādavikrayāt* in place of *prakāśaṃ vikrayāt* in Vācaspatimiśra's *Vivādacintāmaṇi* gives the better sense. The whole passage would then mean 'what the slave gets through the favour of his master and the price he got by selling himself do not belong to the master.'

70 III, 13.

man taken captive in war (*āryaprāṇo dhvajāhṛtaḥ*) by means of work or else of half its money equivalent. In fact Kauṭilya's only bar against redemption seems to embrace the cases of a person self-pledged becoming an outcast once, a person pledged by others becoming so twice, and these persons trying to escape to a foreign kingdom once (*sakṛdātmādhātā niṣpatitaḥ sīdet dviranyenāhitakaḥ sakṛdubhau paraviṣyābhimukhau*). On the other hand, Nārada[71] makes it impossible except in the cases to be noted presently, for his first four classes of slaves to win freedom otherwise than by the favour of their masters. With respect to the pledged person, Nārada's rule is practically the same, for he declares[72] that such an individual can be released when his master redeems him and becomes equal to a slave when he is allowed to be taken in lieu of payment of debt. In the same connection Nārada[73] ordains, in direct contravention of the rule of Kauṭilya above quoted, that a person voluntarily selling himself into slavery is incapable of release from servitude. It must be mentioned in explanation of this attitude that both Manu[74] and Yājñavalkya[75] rank the selling of one's own self among the *upapātakas*. The Smṛtikāras, moreover, introduce characteristically enough a new ground of disability by making the apostate from asceticism (*pravrajyāvasita*) the king's slave and for ever incapable of release.[76] While Kauṭilya[77] decrees a

71 V, 29. 72 V, 32. 73 V, 37. 74 XI, 59. 75 III, 340.
76 *Cf.* Yāj., II, 183; Nār., V, 35. Cf. Kane, *KSS.*, v. 731:—
pravrajyāvasito dāso moktavyaśca na kenacit|
anākālabhṛto dāsyānmucyate goyugaṃ dadat |;
Rangaswami, *A.K.* v. 90:—
pravrajyāvasito yatra punardārān samāharet|
nāsau svāmī bhavettatra dāso hyeṣa vigarhitaḥ||. 77 *Loc. cit.*

female slave bearing a child to her master to be forthwith released along with her offspring, the Smṛtis with the single exception of Kātyāyana[78] make no such provision. Manu[79] on the other hand states in one place that a free woman by marrying a male slave is herself reduced to servitude. In fact the only important concession made in the *Dharmaśāstras* in favour of the slaves seems to be that one reduced to slavery by force or sold into slavery by robbers together with a slave rescuing his master's life from grave peril, is decreed forthwith to be liberated from servitude.[80] Nārada,[81] indeed, states that in the last-mentioned case the slave should take a son's share of his master's wealth. For the rest the methods of emancipation in the *Dharmaśāstras* are practically the same as those of the *Arthaśāstra,* allowing of course for the merely tacit recognition of the slave's right ownership in the former instance. One who becomes a slave for maintenance (*bhaktadāsa*), according to Yājñavalkya[82] and Nārada,[83] is released by giving up his subsistence,— Yājñavalkya adds, also by giving a ransom. One who has been maintained during famine, Nārada goes on,[84] is released by giving a pair of cows, one who has been enslaved for debt by repaying the sum with interest, one enslaved for a stipulated period by the expiry of his term, one who has voluntarily offer-

78 *svadāsiṃ yastu saṃgacchetprasūtā ca bhavettataḥ|*
avekṣya bījaṃ kāryā syānna dāsī sānvayā tu sā|| Kane, *KSS.*, v. 723.

79 Quoted in *Vivāda.*, p. 150: *dāsenoḍhā tvadāsī yā sāpi dāsitvamāpnuyāt| yasmādbhartā prabhustasyāḥ svāmyadhīnaḥ prabhuryataḥ.*

80 *Cf.* Yāj., II, 182; Nār., v, 30, 38.

81 v, 30.

82 II, 182.

83 v, 36.

84 v, 31-36. [Kātyāyana, Kane, *KSS.*, v. 731 repeats Nārada's rule relating to emancipation of persons maintained during famine].

ed himself together with a person taken captive in war and one won in a stake by giving a substitute of equal capacity for work; one who has accepted slavery for the sake of a female slave is released by giving her up.

A word may be added here regarding the status of the emancipated slave. In an oft-quoted passage[85] Manu says that a Śūdra, though emancipated by his master, is not released from servitude, a doctrine which he bases upon his dictum of the Śūdra's inherent nature. Nārada,[86] however, appears to state that when a slave is emancipated, his food may be eaten, his presents may be accepted, and he may be respected by worthy persons.

85 VIII, 414: *na svāminā nisṛṣṭo'pi śūdro dāsyādvimucyate| nisargajam hi tat tasya kastasmāt tadopahati.*

86 Quoted in *Parāśaramādhava*, p. 347.

SOME CURRENT VIEWS OF THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF HINDU KINGSHIP CONSIDERED

I

In his work entitled *Hindu Polity,* Dr. K. P. Jayaswal treats *inter alia* the speculations of the ancient Indian thinkers relating to the origin of kingship, or more generally, of the State. His views on this important subject, needless to say, deserve the most careful consideration of every student of Indian antiquities, and it is this task which we propose to take up here.

Let us begin by analysing the principal points of his thesis:

I The "Vedic theory" implied that kingship had its origin in war, or to state more correctly, in election under the stress of war. This "suggests that the institution of kingship was borrowed [by the Aryans] from the Dravidians."[1]

II The "*Arājaka* democrats" who propounded a "theory of extreme individualism" held that the State was founded on the basis of Social Contract.[2]

III The "political writers" (otherwise called the "scientists") laid down a "contractual theory of the origin of monarchy" which was a monarchist adaptation of the "republican theory of contract."[3]

IV The theory of the *Manusaṃhitā* which was the "nearest Hindu approach to the divine theory of kingship" had "no direct support in earlier literature." It was started to "support an abnormal state of affairs opposed to law and tradi-

1 *Op. cit.,* part II, pp. 4-5. 2 *Op. cit.,* part I, pp. 172-73.
3 *Op. cit.,* part I, p. 173, part II, p. 5.

tion, viz., political rule by Brahmin" (*sic.*), and was "never approved or adopted by a single subsequent law-book."[4]

V From the above it follows that the Hindu king was held to be "a servant of the State" or "virtually a constitutional slave" and that his office was taken to be "a trust."[5]

I As regards the Vedic theory of the origin of kingship the text quoted by Dr. Jayaswal[6] is not the only evidence bearing on this point. Assuming, as Dr. Jayaswal does, that the divine sovereignty of Indra can rightly be taken to be a reflex of the human sovereignty of the earthly king, we have to mention in this connexion at least one other Vedic *ākhyāyikā* which leads to a quite different conclusion. The whole passage[7] may be quoted in full. "*Prajāpatirindramasṛjatā-nujāvaraṃ devānāṃ/, taṃ prāhiṇot/, pare hi/, eteṣāṃ devānāṃ adhipatiredhīti/ taṃ devā abruvan/, kastvamasi/, vayaṃ vai tvacchreyāṃsaḥ sma iti mā devā avocanniti/, atha vā idam tarhi prajāpatau hara āsīt/ yadasminnāditye/, tadenamabravīt/. etanme prayaccha/, athāhameteṣāṃ devānām-adhipatirbhaviṣyāmīti/, ko'ham syāmityabravīt/, etat pradāyeti/, etat syā ityabravīt/; yadetat braviṣīti/, ko na vai nāma prajāpatiḥ/ ya evaṃ veda/, vidurenaṃ nāmnā/, tadasmai rukmaṃ kṛtvā pratyamuñcat/, tato vā indro devānāmadhipatirabhavat/.*" It is evident that what we have here is not a theory of election, but of creation of kingship by the will of the Supreme Deity. Let us quote another text, almost certainly taken from a *Brāhmaṇa*, which expresses in the

4 *Op. cit.*, part II, pp. 54-57.
5 *Op. cit.*, part II, pp. 185, 188.
6 *Ait. Br.*, I, 14.
7 *Taitt. Br.*, II, 2. 10. 1-2.

clearest terms the divine creation of the human King. It is cited from an unknown *āmnāya* by Viśvarūpa, the author ot the earliest extant commentary on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*. The text[7a] in part is as follows:—

Sabha vā idam-abhavat, devāś-ca manuṣyāś-ca, te yadopakārair-na śekur-manuṣyān-ātmikartum atha devās-tirobabhūvuḥ, tān Prajāpatir-abravit-'kaḥ prajāḥ pālayitā bhuvi sarve 'ntarhitāḥ stha/, asaṃrakṣyamāṇāḥ prajā adharmārditās tyakṣyantītaḥ pradānam-upajīvanam-asmākam-iti' te devāḥ Prajāpatim abruvan 'puruṣamūrtim rājānaṃ karavāma Somād rūpam-āday-Ādityāt tejo vikramam-atha Indrād Viṣṇor-vijayaṃ Vaiśravaṇāt tyāgam Yamāt saṃyamanamiti.' (The gods and men failed to bring the people under their control through benevolence. Then the gods disappeared. When Prajāpati enquired as to who should protect the peoples, the gods replied that they would create a king in the form of a man by taking different qualities from the different deities). As regards the further observation of Dr. Jayaswal that *Ait. Br.*, 1, 14 suggests the institution of kingship to have been borrowed by the Indo-Aryans from the Dravidians, it must, we are afraid, be treated as too original to deserve any serious notice. For its acceptance involves a number of unproved assumptions. These are:—

1 that in pre-Aryan times the Dravidians had kings,

2 that the aborigines with whom the Aryans came in contact belonged ethnically to the Dravidian stock,

3 that the Aryans with their known aversion towards the aborigines did not hesitate to borrow one of their most important institutions from them.

7a *Op. cit.* 1, 350.

Nor, again, does the evidence of historical analogy support Dr. Jayaswal's theory. In the parallel case of the Anglo-Saxon invaders of Britain, it was not by borrowing from the conquered people but through the necessities of the situation which called for a common and permanent leader in war, that the institution of kingship, as is generally held, came into general use.

II No. 2 is a brilliant example of the author's ingenuity in discovering the hidden meaning of familiar facts. Before the publication of the *Hindu Polity*, '*arājaka*' was held in all quarters to have only one meaning relating to 'kinglessness' or 'anarchy'. But Dr. Jayaswal with characteristic boldness gives it an original significance in the sense of a 'non-ruler State' and accords it a place in his list of Hindu 'technical constitutions.' By it he means an idealistic constitution in which law instead of an individual was taken to be the ruler and which was based on "mutual agreement or social contract between the citizens." Now what are the grounds on which this novel interpretation of a very familiar term is sought to be based? "The technical *Arājaka*," we are told,[8] "does not mean anarchy" as this is indicated by "a special term *mātsyanyāya*." But that *Arājaka* was a technical term and not, as is ordinarily held, a popular expression for anarchy, is precisely the point requiring to be proved. The sole evidence on which Dr. Jayaswal relies[9] is the well-known and oft-quoted text of the Jaina *Āyārānga Sutta* (II, 3. 1. 10) forbidding monks and nuns to pass through certain countries which are specified as follows:—

8 *Hindu Polity*, part I, p. 97 *n*.

9 *Op. cit.*, part I, p. 99.

arāyāṇi vā gaṇarāyāṇi vā juvarāyāṇi vā dorajjāṇi vā verajjāṇi vā viruddharajjāṇi vā.

Here there is nothing to justify Dr. Jayaswal's assumption of reference to a non-ruler or Law-State and consequently his interpretation of *arājaka* must be dismissed as not proven.[10]

Having thus invoked an imaginary '*Arājaka* constitution' "based on the rule of law," Dr. Jayaswal must needs father on its exponents an equally imaginary theory of the basis of the State. The texts quoted by Dr. Jayaswal[10a] in support of his view occur in the course of the two well-known stories of the origin of monarchy in the *Śāntiparvan* (chs. LIX and LXVII). Now admitting that the *Śāntiparvan* in its existing form has incorporated a mass of earlier materials, one may be permitted to doubt very much whether a portion of the text torn from its context and not described (as the ancient narratives are) in the form of *itihāsaṃ purātanaṃ*, can safely be attributed to a class of authors ('Arājaka democrats') whose existence is unknown to history.

III The theories of the origin of kingship in the *Arthaśāstra*, the *Manusaṃhitā*, and the *Mahābhārata*, which Dr. Jayaswal ascribes to the 'political writers' (or the 'scientists) are undoubtedly very remarkable of their kind. But to characterize them as examples of the contractual origin of kingship is to

10 We may quote here the version of H. Jacobi who translates (*SBE.*, Vol. XXII, p. 138) the whole passage as follows:—'A monk or a nun on the pilgrimage whose road (lies through) a country where there is no king or many kings or an unanointed king or two governments or no government or a weak government, should if there be some other place for walking about or friendly districts, not choose the former road for their voyage.'

10a *Op. cit.*, part I, p. 98.

give an altogether one-sided, and therefore imperfect, view of their true nature. For, first, let it be noted that the person with whom the 'contract' is supposed to be made is not an ordinary mortal but is a superhuman being,—Manu Vaivasvata, progenitor of the present race of living beings,[10b] Manu the father of the human race,[11] or else Pṛthu who traced his descent from Virajas, the mind-begotten son of Brahmā.[12] In the first instance, again, the theory of election is supplemented by that of quasi-sanctity of the king, from which follows the doctrine of sinfulness of slighting royalty.[13] In the last two cases we are told in graphic language how it was by the direct act of the supreme god, Brahmā or Viṣṇu, moved thereto by the acute distress of the people, that a ruler was set over them.[14] How very remote this is from the idea of 'contractual origin of kingship!' And going back for a moment to the three accounts above mentioned, we are tempted to ask how very one-sided after all is the element of contract that actually enters into their composition. In the *Arthaśāstra* the contract is implied and not expressed, and its result is stated to be that the king is spiritually responsible for his misgovernment, while he is entitled to his usual one-sixth share even from hermits dwelling in the forest. It follows that the subjects have no explicit authority to bring the king to account

10b *Arthaśāstra*, I, 13.

11 *Śāntiparvan*, Ch. LXVII.

12 *Ibid.*, Ch. LIX.

13 *Arthaśāstra*, I, 13: *Indrayamasthānametadrājānaḥ pratyakṣahedaprasādāḥ/ tānavamanyamānaṃ daivo'pi daṇḍaḥ spṛśati/ tasmādrājāno nāvamantavyāḥ//*

14 *Cf. Śānti.*, LIX, 87 ff.; *Ibid.*, LXVII, 20 ff.

for his misdeeds and inflict upon him temporal penalties, but he must needs be made subject to spiritual sanctions. Similarly in ch. LXVII of the *Śāntiparvan* the people are said to have entered into an agreement with Manu, the king-designate, but the agreement which was meant to overcome Manu's reluctance to rule only stipulated for the subjects' payment of the royal dues and their granting the king immunity from their own sins.[15] In ch. LIX, it is true, Pṛthu, the first 'king' (*rājan*) is said after his miraculous birth to have complied with a long list of promises ending in the famous *pratijñā* ('coronation-oath').[16] But Dr. Jayaswal, while quoting the conetxt in which this important statement occurs in full, fails to reproduce the whole story and thus helps to present a distorted version of its true constitutional significance. For, in the lines following those describing Pṛthu's consecration, Bhīṣma is made to explain, obviously in reply to the latter part of Yudhiṣṭhira's query ("why does one man rule over the many who are his equals in all respects"?), that the Lord Viṣṇu entered the person of the king, whence kings are reverenced by the people as gods. Why should the people submit to one man, the royal sage goes on, except for his divine quality? A god is born on earth as king after his stock of spiritual merit is exhausted, and is endowed with Viṣṇu's divine majesty. As he is established by the gods, no one transcends him and every person submits to his authority.[17] It will be seen from the above that the idea of the coronation-oath is here swamped, if not superseded, by that of

15 *loc. cit.*, 22, 29.

16 *Cf. Hindu Polity*, pt. II, pp. 46-47.

17 *Śānti.*, LIX, 128, 131, 134-35.

the king's divine nature which is explicitly declared to be the basis of his rule over his subjects.

IV The well-known account of the origin of kingship in the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* undoubtedly carries the king's authority to a high pitch. But is it correct to state that it had "no direct support in the earlier literature"? The divine creation of the human king is already foreshadowed in the story of the creation of Indra's sovereignty by Prajāpati in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* that we have cited above. Furthermore, the description of the coronation ritual in the *Brāhmaṇas* would itself without "twisting" "support" the theory of the king's divine nature. In the accounts of the great ceremonies of royal consecration in the *Brāhmaṇas,* we are again and again told how the *yajamāna* is raised by the sacred act of the ritual to the status of the gods. The following passages that are relevant to this case may be mentioned in this connexion. The *Śat. Br.*, explaining one of the rites of the *Vājapeya,* says (v, 2, 2, 14-15): *tad-Bṛhaspater-evainam-etatsāyujyaṃ salokatāṃ gamayati//, devebhyo nivedayatyayaṃ mahavīryo yo' bhyaṣecītyayaṃ yuṣmākaiko' bhūt-tam gopāyateti.*[18] In another place (v. 2. 1. 11) it states; *prajāpateḥ prajā abhūmeti prajāpaterhyeṣa prajā bhavati yo vājapeyena yajate.*[19] In connexion with the *Rājasūya,* we have the following: *Śat. Br.*, v. 4. 3. 4: *eṣa Indro bhavati yacca kṣatriyo yadu ca yaja-*

18 "He thus makes him attain to the fellowship of Bṛhaspati and to co-existence in the world......Him thus indicated, he thereby indicates to the gods: 'Of mighty powers is he who has been consecrated: he has become one of yours; protect him!' thus he thereby says" (*SBE.*, Vol. XLI, p. 41).

19 He who offers the Vājapeya indeed becomes Prajāpati's child" (*SBE.*, Vol. XLI, p. 32).

mānaḥ.[20] On the *Aśvamedha, Śat. Br.*, XIII, 4. 4. 3 says: *tad yadenaṃ devaiḥ saṃgāyanti devairevainam tatsalokaṃ kurvanti,*[21] *Taitt. Br.*, III, 9. 20. 2: *aśvenaiva medhyena prajāpateḥ sāyujyaṃ salokatāmāpnoti/ etāsāmeva devatānāṃ sāyujyam sārṣṭitāṃ samānalokatām āpnoti yo'śvamedhena yajate.* This doctrine of divine sanctity of the Kṣatriya *yajamāna* or the king is held in one important *Brāhmaṇa* passage to be the basis of his rule over his subjects. We refer to *Śat. Br.*, V. 1. 5. 14 where it is said that with reference to a Rājasūya rite making the sacrificer shoot to a certain distance with an arrow, '*tad yad rājanyaḥ pravidhyati eṣa vai prajāpateḥ pratyakṣatamaṃ yad rājanyastasmād-ekaḥ san-bahūnāmīṣṭe.*[22]

Not merely in its antecedents but also in its later history is the Mānava account of the origin of kingship related to other canonical works. It would indeed be exceedingly strange if one of the most characteristic doctrines of the Manusaṃhitā were "not" to be "approved or adopted by a single subsequent law-book." For was it not a *smṛti* writer who declared: *vedārthopanibaddhvatvāt prādhānyaṃ hi manoḥ smṛtam/ manvarthaviparītātu yā smṛtiḥ sā vinaśyati.*[23] Nor does the reason

20 "He is Indra for a two-fold reason, namely, because he is a Kṣatriya and because he is a sacrificer" (*SBE.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 98-99).

21 "The reason why they thus sing of him along with the gods is that they thereby make him share the same world with the gods" (*SBE.*, Vol. XLIV, p. 372).

22 "And as to why a Rājanya shoots, he, the Rājanya, is most manifestly of Prajāpati (the lord of creatures); hence, while being one, he rules over many" (*SBE.*, Vol. XLI, p. 25).

23 Bṛhaspati quoted by Kullūka in his commentary on *Manusmṛti*, I, 1: For this verse see also *Bṛhaspatismṛti reconstructed* by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *GOS.*, Vol. LXXXV, Baroda 1941, p. 233, v. 13 where it is found

advanced by Dr. Jayaswal for the alleged unique character of Manu's theory commend itself to our approval. For assuming that the *Mānavadharmaśāstra* was written to support the rule of the Brāhmaṇa Puṣyamitra, was not "political rule by a Brāhmaṇa" sanctioned by the Smṛtis as an *āpaddharma*?[24] Reverting to the point which immediately concerns us, what is the evidence tending to show that Manu's theory "failed miserably"? Dr. Jayaswal claims the authority of constitutional writers to the effect that the Mānava doctrine was transformed into a "divine theory of the servitude of the king to the subject." But the only "writer" who holds this view is the author of the Śukranīti, and his famous doctrine (I. 188) is not even once mentioned or alluded to by Dr. Jayaswal either in the present context or in the two chapters to which reference is made in the footnote. On the other hand theories of kingship resembling that of Manu are found in many of the later "law-books" and Purāṇas. We have room for a few examples. Nārada[24a]:—*rakṣādhikārādīśatvādbhūtānugrahadarśanāt/ yadeva kurute rājā tatpramāṇamiti sthitiḥ// nirbalo'pi yathā strīṇām pūjya eva patiḥ sadā/ prajānāṃ viguṇo' pyevaṃ pūjya eva prajāpatiḥ//; pañca rūpāṇi rājāno dhārayantyamitaujasaḥ/*

with a few verbal changes. Equally significant is the preceding verse (v. 12) of the *Bṛhaspatismṛti* just mentioned. It is as follows: *'tāvacchāstrāṇi sobhante tarkavyākaraṇāni ca/ dharmārthamokṣopadeṣṭā manuryāvannadṛśyate//* ('The sciences, dialectics and grammar flourish as long as Manu the teacher of Virtue, Wealth and Salvation is not perceived).

24 *Cf. Manu,* X, 81; *Yāj.*, III, 3, 5 etc. Medhātithi commenting on the former verse says: *yadāsya śarīrakuṭumbanityakarmāvasādo bhavati...tadā kṣatriyavat grāmanagararakṣādinā śastradhāraṇena sati sambhave sarvādhipatyena jīvet.*

24a Jolly's ed., sec. XVII, VV. 22, 26, 52b, 54-5.

agnerindrasya somasya yamasya dhanadasya ca// ; śuciścaivāśuciḥ samyak-katham rājā na daivatam/ ; loke'sminmaṅgalānyaṣṭau brāhmaṇo gaurhutāśanaḥ/ hiraṇyaṃ sarpir-āditya āpo rājā tathāṣṭamaḥ// etāni satataṃ paśyennamasyedarcayet svayam/ pradakṣiṇaṃ ca kurvīta yathāsyāyuḥ pravardhate//, Bṛhatparāśara[24b]: *ājñā nṛpāṇām paramaṃ hi tejo yastāṃ na manyeta sa śastravadhyaḥ/ śrūyācca kuryācca vadecca bhūbhṛtadeva kāryaṃ bhuvi sarvalokaiḥ// durdharṣatīvrāṃśusamānadipter-brūyānmanuṣyaḥ paruṣaṃ nṛpasya/ yastasya tejo'pyavamanyamānaḥ sadyaḥ sa pañcatvamupaiti pāpāt//*.

V To argue in the face of the above that in the Hindu theory the king was "a servant of the State" and his office was "a trust" is to admit the validity of one set of facts to the exclusion of another set of at least equal indisputability. How strong a spell the sentiment of divine sanctity of the king cast upon the Hindu mind may best be gauged from its survival down to modern times. In a famous Bengal Vaiṣṇava work of the early seventeenth century A.C., a Hindu officer of the Moslem court is represented quite naturally as addressing his master, an unconsecrated foreigner, as a part of Viṣṇu.[25] And is it not a matter of common knowledge that to the present day the Raja of Puri is popularly known as *Calanti Viṣṇu* (a moving Viṣṇu)?

* * * * *

24b Quoted in *Vīramitrodaya, Rājanītiprakāśa*, Benares ed., p. 23.

25 See the *Caitanyacaritāmṛtam* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, Madhyalīlā, ch. 1. The passage referred to occurs in the course of the address of the *Dabir Khas* to Alauddin Hussain Shah, and runs as follows:—*tumi narādhipa hao Viṣṇu aṃśa sama.* (You are a king, equal to a part of Viṣṇu).

Having considered Dr. K. P. Jayaswal's views about Ancient Indian Kingship, we shall briefly notice his analysis of Hindu Imperial Systems. In his work *Hindu Polity*[26] he distinguishes three main types of empire to have existed in Ancient India—*Ādhipatya, Sārvabhauma,* and *Sāmrājya,*—which he interprets respectively as 'Suzerainty' (or 'Over-protection'), 'pan-country Sovereignty' (or 'One-king empire') and 'Federal Imperialism'. These interpretations are sought to be based partly on the etymology of the terms in question and partly on the evidence of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and are sought to be justified by means of recorded instances in history and legend.

Now the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,*[27] in course of its exposition of 'the Great Consecration ceremony' (*Mahābhiṣeka*) of the king of gods, and its copy, 'the Great Consecration' of the king of men, mentions a 'stock list' of the various positions which fall to the lot of one consecrated under this ceremony. This comprises, besides a long list of descriptive epithets, the terms *Sāmrājya, Bhaujya, Svārājya, Vairājya, Rājya, Pārameṣṭhya, Māhārājya, Ādhipatya, Svāvaśya,* and *Ātiṣṭha.* These terms, it may be added, are associated in the same context[28] with the peoples of different quarters or regions. Thus we have

Sāmrājya	...	...	The Eastern peoples
Bhaujya	...	...	The *Satvants* in the south
Svārājya	...	...	The Southern and Western peoples.

26 Part II, pp. 195 ff. 27 VIII, 12-19.

28 *Ait. Br.*, VIII, 14, (relating to the *Mahābhiṣeka* of Indra). In the corresponding passage (*Ibid.*, VIII. 19) relating to the *Mahābhiṣeka* of kings, the same arrangement is maintained except that Māhārājya and the following terms are connected with the middle region.

Vairājya ... ... The *Uttarakurus* and *Uttaramadras* beyond the Himālayas.

Rājya ... ... The *Kuru-Pañcālas* with the *Vaśas* and *Uśīnaras* in the middle,

while *Pārameṣṭhya, Māhārājya, Ādhipatya, Svāvaśya* and *Ātiṣṭha* are connected more fancifully with the upward quarter. It is evident that the terms just mentioned have to be understood more or less as technical designations. All the other expressions used in the above context should preferably be taken to be descriptive of royal (or imperial) authority. Such is the case with the term *Sārvabhauma* in the passage referred to by Dr. Jayaswal, which may be quoted here in Keith's translation[29]: —

"If he who knows thus should desire of a Kṣatriya, 'May he win all victories, find all the worlds, attain the superiority, pre-eminence and supremacy over all kings, and over-lordship, paramount rule, self-rule, sovereignty, supreme authority, kingship, great kingship and suzerainty; may he be all encompassing, possessed of all the earth (*Sārvabhaumaḥ*), possessed of all life, from the one end upto the further side of the earth bounded by the ocean, sole ruler', etc.

29 *Rigveda Brāhamaṇas*, pp. 331-32. In the original the text (VIII. 15) is as follows:—*Sa ya icched evaṃvit kṣatriyamayaṃ sarvā jitīr-jayetāyaṃ sarvāllokān-vindetāyaṃ sarveṣāṃ rājñāṃ śraiṣṭhyam-atiṣṭhāṃ paramatām gaccheta sāmrājyaṃ bhaujyaṃ svārājyaṃ vairājyaṃ pārameṣṭhyam rājyam māhārājyam-ādhipatyam-ayaṃ samantaparyāyī syāt-sārvabhaumaḥ sārvāyuṣa ā'ntād-āparārdhāt-pṛthivyai samudraparyantāyā ekarāḍiti...sa ya icched-evaṃvit-kṣatriyo'ham sarvā jitīr-jayeyaṃ-ahaṃ sarvāllokān vindeyam-ahaṃ sarveṣāṃ rājñāṃ śraiṣṭhyam-ātiṣṭhaṃ paramatām gaccheyam sāmrājyam bhaujyaṃ svārājyaṃ vairājyaṃ pārameṣṭhyam rājyam māhārājyaṃ-ādhipatyam-ahaṃ samantaparyāyī syāṃ sārvabhaumaḥ sārvāyuṣa ā'ntād-āparārdhāt pṛthīvyai samudraparyantāyā ekarāḍiti.*

"If a Kṣatriya who knows thus desire, 'May I win all victories, find all worlds, attain the superiority, pre-eminence and supremacy over all kings and over-lordship, paramount rule, self-rule, sovereignty, supreme authority, kingship, great kingship and suzerainty,-may I be all encompassing, possessed of all the earth (*Sārvabhaumaḥ*), possessed of all life, from the one end upto the further side of the earth bounded by the ocean sole ruler", etc.

'*Sārvabhauma*', then, in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* implies not so much a specific kind of empire, as a rather vague description of imperial authority. Dr. Jayaswal, indeed, finds in the above-quoted text of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* an explanation of this term. He writes[30]:—"The wish to be a *Sārvabhauma* is expressed to become (*sic*) (the sole) monarch of the land up to its (natural) frontiers, up to the sea, over all human beings."[31] But it may be asked whether the phrase '*sārvāyuṣa āntād-āparārdhāt pṛthivyai samudraparyantāyā ekarāṭ*' following immediately after *Sārvabhauma* should not rather be regarded as forming along with the latter a part of the vague description of royal and imperial authority.

In connexion with the present subject Dr. Jayaswal[32] throws out the suggestion that the ideal of *Sārvabhauma* "probably arose in Magadha whence the field for conquest lay open up to the Bay of Bengal; its non-Aryan population, unlike the Aryan *janas* or nations of the Doab, was no moral barrier to the Hindu imperialist." But all the traditions of empire in the East attach themselves, as Dr. Jayaswal's own citations[33] from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* and from the story of Jarāsandha in the *Mahābhārata* show, to the conception of *sāmrājya,* not that of *sārvabhauma.* Dr. Jayaswal observes in the same context that the *Sārva-*

30 *Op. cit.,* part II, p. 196.
31 The reference is to the *Ait. Br.*. text cited above, VIII. 15.
32 *Op. cit.,* part II, p. 196.
33 *Op. cit.,* part II, p. 197.

bhauma system was extended "even to the Aryan India (*sic*) by the kings of Magadha, which (*sic*) shocked the principle of *Jāna-rājya*." But the Purāṇic evidence on which Dr. Jayaswal relies shows that the "Hindu historians" were "shocked" not at the establishment of '*ekarājya*' and '*ekacchatra*' by Mahāpadma, but because he belonged to the despised *Śūdra* caste and exterminated the Kṣatriyas. We quote below the passage in full.[34] In truth, the application of the 'one-king idea of Empire' 'to Aryan India' could not have been a great innovation in the time of Mahāpadma. Already had Kośala shown the way by its annexation of the 'Aryan' kingdom of Kāśi. As Dr. Jayaswal himself observes in another context,[35] "Competition [for Sārvabhauma] follows between the three [viz., Kosala, Avanti, and Magadha], and Magadha finally wins under Nanda-vardhana."

Let us next turn to the term *ādhipatya*. Dr. Jayaswal explains it[36] as "an overlordship embracing protected states" and more fully, as "an imperial system in which suzerainty or 'over-protection' (*ādhipatya*) on (*sic*) states outside its frontier was

34 Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 25:—

Mt., Vā., Br.	*Bh., Vs.*
Mahānandi-sutaś-cāpi śūdrāyāṃ Kali-kāṃśajaḥ / utpatsyate Mahāpadmaḥ sarva-kṣatrāntako nṛpaḥ / tataḥ prabhṛti rājāno bhaviṣyāḥ śūdra-yonayaḥ / ekarāṭ sa Mahāpadma eka-cchatro bhaviṣyati / aṣṭāśīti tu varṣāṇi pṛthivyāṃ ca bhaviṣyati / sarvakṣatram-athoddhṛtya bhāvinār-thena coditaḥ.	*Mahānandi-suto rājan śūdrāgarbhod-bhavo balī / Mahāpadmapatiḥ kaś-cin-Nandaḥ kṣatra-vināśakṛt / tato nṛpā bhaviṣyanti śūdra-prāyās tv-adhārmikāḥ / sa eka-cchatrāṃ pṛthi-vīm anullaṅghita-śāsanaḥ / śāsiṣyati Mahāpadmo dvitīya iva Bhārgavaḥ.*

35 *Op. cit.*, part II, p. 198.

36 *Op. cit.*, part II, p. 195.

exercised by the dominant state." This explanation is based on the argument that the phrase *'ayaṃ samantaparyāyī syāt'* occurring in the above-quoted text of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII. 15) immediately after *'ādhipatyam'* is synonymous with the latter. Without denying the technical character of the term in question in the *Brāhmaṇa* period, for which indeed there is independent evidence,[37] we think that here again the succeeding phrase in the *Ait. Br.* text is a part of the general description of royal and imperial authority.

The last point that remains to be considered is the significance of the term *'Sāmrājya.'* Here there can be no doubt that some kind of Empire or at least over-lordship is meant.[38] Dr. Jayaswal, however, translates[39] the term "in modern phraseology" into "a Federal Imperial system." This is one of those instances of bold and reckless identifications of Ancient Indian with European political institutions which abound in the *Hindu Polity*. For, to confine ourselves to the present example, what does a Federal State, Imperial or Republican, imply? It involves two sets of administrations, the Federal and the State, the former being charged with direction of external relations and internal affairs of common interest, the latter with the management of local affairs of state. The late German Empire,

37 Cf. *Taitt. Br.*, II. 2. 2. 10 applying to Indra the epithet of *ādhipati* of the Gods.

38 Cf. e.g. the well-known passage of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIV. 1. 3. 12. declaring the *samrāṭ* to be superior to the *'rājan'*. The technical significance of *samrāṭ* is as old as the *Ṛgveda* (cf. *Ibid.*, III, 55. 7 applied to the Sun; VIII, 19. 32 applied to Agni. Also cf. *Sāmrājya* used of Varuṇa in I. 25. 19). *Atharvaveda* XVII. 1. 22 applies the epithet *samrāṭ* to Indra.

39 *Op. cit.*, part II, p. 197.

which in our time has been the only example of a Federal Empire, thus possessed a Federal Executive and Legislature (consisting of the Emperor with his ministers and the two Houses of the Bundesrath and Reichstag respectively), besides the State Executive and Legislatures. Now, can the possession of the above features be predicated of any single Empire in Ancient, or, for the matter of that, Mediaeval or Modern India? Dr. Jayaswal defines '*Sāmrājya*' in the above context as 'a collection of States under one acknowledged super-state' and he immediately proceeds to identify the same with a 'Federal Imperial System' or 'Federal Imperialism.' But in such a case the true equivalent of *Sāmrājya* would be 'paramount sovereignty.' Dr. Jayaswal sees in the federal character of the *Sāmrājya* its difference from the *sārvabhauma* ('one-king') system. But as his interpretations of both the terms have been shown to be open to serious doubt, the basis of the comparison falls to the ground.[40]

Besides characterising the *Sāmrājya* as Federal Imperialism, Dr. Jayaswal has tried to discover the original character of this institution. Relying on the story of king Jarāsandha of Magadha in the *Mahābhārata*,[41] he says [42] that Jarāsandha is there described as 'President or Samrāṭ of the Federal organisation, and Śiśupāla, the Cedi king, as the "common generalissimo." "In this detail", he continues, "we detect an inter-

40 A description of different grades of rulers including the *Samrāṭ* and the *Sārvabhauma* actually occurs in the late mediaeval work, the *Śukranītisāra* (I. 183-187). There the difference is made to depend entirely upon the extent of the ruler's powers as shown by the amount of tribute raised from the subjects.

41 II. 19.

42 *Op. cit.*, part II, p. 197.

State basis of originally free nature." Now the meaning of the *Mahābhārata* account will best appear from the passage,[43] wherein Kṛṣṇa recounts to Yudhiṣṭhira the story of Jarāsandha's mighty deeds. The plain meaning of this passage is that Jarāsandha, after overcoming the prosperity of the royal houses referred to in the preceding lines (viz. the Ikṣvākus, Ailas and Bhojas), was consecrated by them and that he placed himself at the top of all kings after attacking them. King Śiśupāla took refuge with him and became his general. It may be mentioned in this connexion that the term *saṃsraya* used in the present passage with reference to Śiśupāla and other kings is a well-known variety of the six forms of policy, and is recommended by the *Arthaśāstra* and *Nīti* authors in the case of weak kings.[44] Moreover, the notable phrase applied above to Śiśupāla[45] has its exact counterpart in Kāmandaka's admonition[46] to a *saṃśrita* king. It thus appears that what amounts merely to acceptance of protection from a powerful king is magnified by Dr. Jayaswal into the election of President of a Federal organisation, and, what is more, the appointment of a subordinate prince as commander-in-chief, as e.g. of Rāja Man Singh by Akbar in

43 II. 14. 7 ff.:—*Idānīm eva vai rājañ Jarāsandho mahīpatiḥ/ abhibhūya śriyaṃ teṣāṃ kulānām abhiṣecitaḥ/ sthito mūrdhni narendrāṇām-ojasākramya sarvaśaḥ// so'vanīm madhyamām 'bhuktvā mitho bhedam-amanyata// prabhur yas-tu paro rājā yasminn-ekavaśe jagat// sa sāmrājyaṃ mahārājā prāpto bhavati yogataḥ// taṃ sa rājā Jarāsandhaṃ saṃśritya kila sarvaśaḥ/ rājan-senāpatir-jātaḥ Śiśupālaḥ pratāpavān/ tam-eva ca mahārāja śiṣyavat samupasthitaḥ//.* [Then follows a list of kings who took refuge (*samāśrita*) with Jarāsandha, or were devoted (*bhakta*) to him].

44 Cf. *Kaut.*, VII. 1: *śaktihīnaḥ saṃśrayeta.*

45:—*śiṣyavat samupasthitaḥ.*

46 XVI. 29:—*vinītavat tatra kālam gamayitvā gurau iva.*

Mughal India, is transformed into the election of a generalissimo of the Federation.

But it is said[47] that the *Mahābhārata* actually contains an instance of "free election of an Emperor by a collection of kings and his consecration to that position." This is the statement that Śāntanu was consecrated king of kings by other kings.[48] We are tempted to ask whether the mere fact of joining in the *Abhiṣeka* amounts to participation in the act of election. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* it is said of Rāma's consecration after his return to Ayodhyā at the end his term of exile that the Ṛtviks, the Brāhmaṇas, the women, the ministers, the citizens and the merchants together consecrated him.[49] Are we to understand from this that all these classes, the women not excepted, met together in an Assembly (or, shall we say, Diet or Parliament) for the free election of Rāma? Again, *Brahmapurāṇam*, giving the rules for consecration of the king, mentions that Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, the chief Śūdras, women devoted to their husbands and having sons, should join in the ceremony.[50] Similarly the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇam*, gives the direction that the leading Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras, and the chiefs of mixed castes should join in consecrating the king.[51]

47 Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, part II, p. 197.

48 Bombay ed. I, 100. 7=*B.O.R.I.*, critical ed. I. 94. 6:—*Tam mahīpā mahīpālam rājarājye'bhyaṣecayan.*

49 VI. 130. 62:—*ṛtvigbhir-brāhmaṇaiḥ pūrvaṃ kanyābhir-mantribhis tathā/ paurais-caivābhyaṣiñcaṃs-te samprahṛṣṭaiḥ sanaigamaiḥ//.*

50 *Nṛpatis-tvabhiṣektavyo daivajñavacanān-naraiḥ/ brāhmaṇaiḥ kṣatriyair-vaiśyaiḥ śūdramukhyais-tathaiva ca/ pativratābhir nārībhiḥ putriṇībhiś ca putravat//.* Quoted in Mitra Miśra's *Vīramitrodaya, Rājanītiprakāśa*, p. 45.

51 *tato brāhmaṇamukhyāś-ca kṣatriyāś-ca viśas-tathā/ śūdrāś-cāvara-mukhyāś-ca nānātīrtha-samudbhavaiḥ//* etc. Quoted Mitra Miśra *op. cit.*, p. 53.

Are these general directions to be taken as a charter of popular suffrage for the election of kings?

II

In his work *Development of Hindu Polity and Political Theories*, Dr. Narayan Chandra Bandyopadhyaya indicates his view of the origin of Vedic kingship in the following words (*Op. cit.*, Pt. 1, pp. 83-87):—

"We have in the early Vedic literature two streams of tradition relating to the origin of Monarchy i.e. those relating to Manu and to Pṛthu Vainya". "Apart from these there are other traditions in the Vedic literature, especially in the Brāhmaṇas, which tell us something as to the origin of Monarchy...... These speculations point to the recognition of the earliest king as the greatest benefactor or his evolution from the successful military chieftain.........'War begat the King, has been the conclusion of eminent authorities on Teutonic or Anglo-Saxon (*sic*) history, and what was true in the West was not altogether negligible in the case of the Indian Aryans".

Now it is quite true that Manu is mentioned in the Vedic Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas as the father of the human race and as a culture-hero who taught mankind sacrificial and other duties. Similarly Pṛthu (otherwise called Pṛthī or Pṛthi) is regarded in these works as a *ṛṣi* and as the inventor of agriculture.[1] But none of the Vedic texts, unlike the Epic, refers to Manu or Pṛthu as the first king, although some passages of the *Yajus Saṃhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, describe him as "the first consecrated of men", in other words as the first properly constituted king. It is therefore difficult to find in the Vedic texts "recognition of the earliest king as the greatest benefactor". As regards the king's "evolution from the successful

1 For references see *Vedic Index, s.v.*

2 *Kāṭhaka Saṃ.*, xxxvii. 4; *Taitt. Br.*, i. 7. 7. 4; *Śat. Br.*, v. 3. 5. 4.

military chieftain", *Ait. Br.* I. 14 undoubtedly mentions the *Devas* to have elected Soma (not Indra, as writes Dr. Bandyopadhyaya) as their king for successful fight against the *Asuras*. But other traditions in the *Brāhmaṇas* point to the belief in the evolution of the divine kingship from the possession of general superiority or even of a particular ritual by the deity concerned. Take e.g. *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 12 where we are told, "The gods with Prajāpati said, 'He is of the gods the mightiest, the most powerful, the strongest, the most real and the best to accomplish; let us anoint him'. 'Be it so', they replied. Thus they did anoint Indra". Again *Pañc. Br.*, (XV. 3. 30) tells us how the gods at first did not yield sovereignty (*rājya*) to Varuṇa, but when Varuṇa uttered a particular chant, they yielded it to him. As for the Anglo-Saxon analogy which is quoted already by the authors of the *Vedic Index* (*s.v. rājan*), it is enough to state that recent research has definitely proved that kingship existed at least among the Angles long before their migration into Britain.[3]

As regards the evolution of Vedic kingship Dr. Bandyopadhyaya gives an elaborate account which we reproduce below, as far as possible, in his own words:—

"The pre-eminence of the ruling clan and the vested rights of princes claiming descent from the same ancestor stood in the way of establishment of autocracy [of the early Vedic king]. The people, again, were a powerful and dominant factor standing in the way of an irresponsible exercise of authority" (*Op. cit.*, Pt. I. p. 86).

"Owing to the influence of sacerdotalism the regal office was gradually coming to be associated with more and more important functions......The priests were not only harping on the parallelism between the duties of the king and of the *Devas*, but some of them were going so far as to regard the

3 See Hodgkin, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, Vol. I, p. 215.

king as the master of the universe and a part-taker of the tributes to the universal rulers". In the *Ṛgveda* and still more the *Atharva Veda* coronanation hymns we have "germs which developed into the conception of the universal and indivisible sovereign authority" as well as "the germs which gradually developed into the ideas regarding the divine nature of royalty"...... "For their success the kings gradually came to depend on ritual and magic...... All these point to the gradual decay of popular control of the administrative machinery". "Nevertheless, the king never became irresponsible to the people, nor accountable to God only, as in Europe". (*Op. cit.,* Pt. 1. pp. 96 ff.).

"We find in the later *Saṃhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* clear evidence of a new phase of political evolution". "Religion and ritualism (*sic*) over-shadowed everything ... The king as the upholder of order was regarded as the counterpart of the Gods...The king's authority no longer depended on the people, but it was made to depend on the sanction of the high universal rulers whom he represented". "Monarchy came to be established on a firm footing and the king came to enjoy a constitutional position, by virtue of well-defined functions and duties formally vested in him rather than subsisting on the mere personal relation between him and his subjects". Other causes tending to strengthen the royal authority were that "an aristocracy of blood and service grew up and supported the king's interest" and that "the king's position was strengthened by the alliance with the priestly bodies". "Through the agency of ritual the favour of the Gods was assured to the king and as such an amount of sanctity attached to his duties and functions. In lieu of this divine aid, the king was compelled to acknowledge subservience to the ministers of religion". "Monarchy came to be glorified. As such, not only did the king protect life and property, but performed (*sic*) sacrifices to win divine favour for his people...Furthermore the king came to be regarded as the protector of Dharma and the *Brāhmaṇas*". Nevertheless, "the tendency to irresponsibility was fully checked first, by the priests who exercised great influence", and secondly, by the popular bodies who (*sic*) always asserted their rights carefully safeguarded in the coronation ritual in which the priest exacted the oath". "The king thus became a constitutional monarch only exercising authority limited by the law". (*Op. cit.,* Pt. 1. pp. 125 ff.).

Let us consider these points *seriatim:—*

In the early Vedic period according to all evidences the king stood in danger of his rival kinsmen. What high

position was enjoyed by Princes is illustrated by *ṚV*. x. 40. 3 comparing *Rājaputras* with the divine Aśvins. But none of the *AV*. texts quoted by Dr. Bandyopadhyaya is enough to prove "the vested rights" of Princes in restraint of the king's arbitrary exercise of his power. *AV*. I. 9. 3 conveying the poet's prayer to set the king in supremacy over his kinsmen (*sajāta*) has been taken by Zimmer,[4] probably rightly, to illustrate his third type of Vedic polity, which for want of a better name we may call 'dynastic government'. Of the other texts quoted by the author, *AV*. I. 29-30 referring to the constant enmity of brothers or outsiders and *ibid*., III. 4 mentioning kinsmen meeting the king, are too vague for his purpose. As regards *AV*. III. 5. 6-7, the author finds in it mention of "prominent people who participated in the nomination of the king-elect to the people". But apart from the contradiction involved in nomination by the selected few and election by the people, the above verses can be rightly interpreted only to mean that certain specified officers and groups of persons were most closely associated with the king's administration, so much so as to deserve in some cases the title of 'king-makers.' Further evidence of this close association is found in the fact that some of them participated, as is mentioned in the *Yajus Saṃhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*, in the ceremony of Offerings to the Jewel-bearers (*Ratnahaviṃṣī*) at the Rājasūya and that of guarding the sacrificial horse at the Aśvamedha. To argue in the face of this vague evidence that "the kinsemen of the king together with a number of other important personages had formed a body of men, who selected the ruling prince and

4 *Altindisches Leben*, p. 176.

probably guided his conduct," is to stretch the meaning to a degree unwarranted by the texts. The author's statements in this connection that "the Grāmaṇi represented public opinion, the Sūta represented the army" are altogether gratuitous assumptions. As for the Grāmaṇi it is wholly uncertain whether he was a nominee of the King or an elected officer. Again, the rendering of the Sūta as 'charioteer' has been proved to be untenable, as this has been found to be the sense of another office known from *AV.* times, viz. that of the *saṃgrahītṛ*. As regards the alleged control of the King by the people, the author quotes *ṚV.* x. 124. 8 giving the simile of "subjects choosing a King" and *AV.* III. 4 "in which the tribesmen are said to select the King." Now these and other texts have been quoted and discussed by a number of scholars to whom unfortunately no reference is made by the author. It appears that while Zimmer, followed by Bloomfield, took the above passages to refer to the King's election by the clan or canton, Geldner explained them to mean mere acceptance by the subjects.[5] The question therefore must be regarded as still open. Coming to other texts, *ṚV.* x. 173 (=*AV.* VI. 87-88) quoted by the author is quite inconclusive; the author himself translates the relevant passage as 'May the people all like (welcome) you.' So also neither *AV.* VII. 94 (praying to Indra to make the *viśas* 'like-minded, wholly ours'), nor *AV.* VI. 73. 1 & 3 (enjoining the subjects to be like-minded and loyal to the King), suffices to

5 For references see Zimmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-5; Bloomfield, *SBE.*, XLIII. 336; Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, II, 303. For a fuller discussion of this point, see the next essay.

prove that the people "asserted themselves whenever the King was in the wrong."

While the texts quoted by the author are thus proved to be too indefinite or inconclusive to support the case for popular control, other passages in the *ṚV.* not noticed by him point to the high significance of the King's office even at such an early period. That the Ṛgvedic King enjoyed from the first a position of the highest dignity and supreme authority is proved not only by the frequent application of the epithet *rājan* to the great gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, Agni etc., but also by the similar use of similes relating to kingship.[6] The brilliant picture of Varuṇa wearing a golden mantle and clad in new robes, sitting surrounded by his spies (*ṚV.* I. 25. 10 ff.), must have been drawn from life, as was pointed out long ago by Zimmer.[7] The *ṚV.* even in its older parts is familiar with technical terms indicative of the King's dominion or authority or both. Such are *kṣatra, rāṣṭra* and *rājya.* It is a significant index of their connotation that these terms are applied freely in the Ṛgvedic texts to the authority of the gods.[8] The essence of the King's authority, viz. the subjection of the people to his will, is clearly suggested by such passages as *ṚV.* IV. 42. 1-2. There the god Varuṇa, after declaring that the lordship (*rāṣṭra*) belongs to him, twice proclaims that the gods obey his will (*kratu*). Again in the references to the King as *balihṛt* ('taker of tribute') and to his officers called *grāmaṇī* and *senānī,*

6 For a further discussion of this point with references, see the writer's forthcoming work, *Hindu Public Life from the earliest times to the accession of the Maurya Dynasty.*

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 167.

8 See *Vedic Index, s.v.* for references.

which go back to *ṚV.* times, we have clear traces of the primitive royal administration. A careful consideration of the above facts would seem to cast grave doubts on the author's characterisation of the early Vedic period as conforming to "the simple political ideal of the King elected by the people and governing according to their wishes." It is significant to note that the author himself sums up his view of the early Vedic Kingship by saying, "We have in the Vedic King the sole repository of the executive power, while the *Sabhā* was the advisory body.........Last of all, there was the *Samiti* which regularly met to express the popular approval of acts either mooted to it for acceptance or to join in state ceremonies."

The *ṚV.* and *AV.* coronation hymns quoted by the author undoubtedly reflect a somewhat advanced conception of the King's authority. But these texts do not prove that "the royal office was gradually coming to be associated with more and more important functions." We have evidence of such increase of the King's functions only in the subsequent period. As regards "the parallelism between the duties of the King and of the *Devas*," or more correctly, the transference of divine epithets and attributes to the earthly King, this applies hardly, if at all, to the *ṚV.* and *AV.* periods. Almost all such known instances belong to the period of the *Yajus Saṃhitās* and the *Brahmaṇas.*[9]

9 Cf. *Śat. Br.*, V. 4. 3. 12 extending to the earthly king the epithet *dhṛtavrata* ('upholder of the sacred law') frequently applied in the *ṚV.* to Mitra and Varuṇa and less often to Indra, Agni and Savitar. Also compare *Ait. Br.*, VII, 13 applying to the consecrated king the epithet *dharmasya goptā* ('protector of the law') which is a transference of the title *dharmaṇām adhyakṣaḥ* given to Indra in *ṚV.*, VIII, 43. 24, the title *dharmakṛt* ('he who

Coming to another point, *AV.* IV. 22. 7 mentioning the newly consecrated King as having Indra as his companion (*Indra-sakhā*) certainly hints at the King's divine or semi-divine position. Among other references not noticed by the author, we may mention *AV.* XX. 127. 1 ff. where Parikṣit, one of the renowned Kings of this time, is described as "exceeding mortals as a god." Nevertheless, we think that the germs of the theory of the King's divinity do not belong to the late *ṚV.* or *AV.* period, but may be traced to the early *ṚV.* times. As was pointed out by the present writer elsewhere,[10] *ṚV.* IV. 42. 8-9 describing King Trasadasyu as a 'demi-god' (*ardha-deva*) already hints at the divine or semi-divine character of Kingship. Turning to the next point, we may notice that while certain charms and prayers of the *AV.* doubtless indicate the dependence of Kingship upon ritual and magic, they do not by themselves prove "the gradual decay of popular control of the administrative machinery," of which the author has not given a single proof. As regards the comparison drawn by the author between Vedic and Mediaeval European Kingship, it is no doubt true, as was proved by the present writer,[11] that two of the component elements of the Western theory of Divine Right (viz. that 'Kings are accountable to God alone' and that 'non-resistance and passive obedience are enjoined by God') are practically unknown to the Hindu thinkers. But this does not justify the rash generalisation involving confusion between theory and

keeps the law') applied to Indra in *AV.*, XX. 62. 6 and that of *dahrmadhṛt* ('law-observer') applied to certain Gods in *AV.*, I. 25. 1.

10 *Hindu Political Theories*, 2nd ed., p. 20.

11 *Op. cit.*, pp. 248-250.

practice, viz. that in India "the King never became irresponsible to the people, nor accountable to God only, as in Europe."

We may pause here to consider the author's criticism (*op. cit.*, Pt. I. pp. 99-100 *n.*) of the present writer's interpretation of the *ṚV.* text relating to King Trasadasyu cited above. Alleging that the writer has applied the first six verses of *ṚV.* IV. 42 to Trasadasyu, the author observes that they "ought to be taken as dedicated to King Varuṇa himself rather than to the composer Trasadasyu." Proceeding in the same strain, he says that assuming the first six verses to be correctly attributed to the king, "Trasadasyu nowhere speaks of his eminence as having been due to his being a King. The truth is that this King came to be regarded as a mythical personage—a demi-god owing his birth to the favour of Indra and Varuṇa." On the above grounds the author bases his charge that the writer has "tried to prove that in the eyes of Indians, the royal office was a divine institution." Now, in the first place, the above reference was given by the writer in the context of his analysis of *ṚV.* theories of Kingship. There was in this case not the remotest suggestion of its applying to any other period of Indian history or phase of Hindu thought. The reference, again, was taken to 'hint broadly at the divine or semi-divine position of the King.' It is therefore amazing to find the writer being charged with trying to prove that the royal office was a divine institution in the eyes of the Indians. In the next place, there is not the slightest basis for the author's allegation that the writer has misapplied the first six verses (which, by the way, are given in the form of self-praise of the two gods Indra and Varuṇa, and not as "dedication to Varuṇa") to King

Trasadasyu. The writer's quotations were actually taken, as was shown clearly in his footnote, from verses 8 and 9 which, as Geldner in his German translation of the *ṚV*. (Part 1) observes, were added by the poet after the first six verses to illustrate the service rendered by the two Gods in favour of the Pūru people.[12] We find it difficult to understand how the author could mistake this reference in view of the fact that he quotes verse 9 in the same context to support his criticism. The author, moreover, has not taken any notice of the writer's argument based on the Ṛgvedic conception of gods 'as beings of superhuman excellence.' We are, again, unable to follow the author's description of Trasadasyu as a mythical personage in view of the fact that not only is his ancestry as well as descent well-known to the Ṛgvedic poet, but that he was remembered in the later Brāhmaṇa texts along with other historical Kings among the famous sacrificers of ancient times.[13]

Let us now come to the period of the *Yajus Saṃhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*. Without denying the extensive development of the sacrificial ritual in these works, it is possible to exaggerate, as the author has done, the cleavage between the Early and Late Vedic periods. A fair proportion of the *Ṛgvedic Saṃhitā* including the whole of Book IX consists, as is well known, of sacrificial songs used for definite ritual purposes. The great sacrifices of the Rājasūya, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha may be

12 Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 428 *n* where after analysing the first seven verses, Geldner observes:—"Daran reiht der Dichter ein weiteres gemeinsames Verdienst beider Götter um das Pūruvolk. Sie haben der Gemahlin des Königs Purukutsa den Trasadasyu als Sohn geschenkt zum Dank für das Rossopfer, das diese ihnen dargebracht hatte (8-9)".

13 For references see *Vedic Index, s.v.*

traced back by direct references to the *AV*. and in some cases to *ṚV*. times. In the second place, the divinity of the King, such as it is, is held in the *Yajus Saṃhitā* and *Brāhmaṇa* texts to follow mostly from his participation in the great public sacrifices, viz. the Vājapeya, the Aśvamedha and the Rājasūya. Very exceptional are such texts as *Śat. Br.*, v. 1. 5. 14 deriving the King's authority as such from his being "a visible form of Prajāpati" and *Ibid.*, v. 4. 3. 4 etc. declaring in connection with the Rājasūya that "the sacrificer is Indra for a two-fold reason, because he is a Kṣatriya and because he is a sacrificer." As for "the aristocracy of blood and service" growing up around the King, it does not appear to be a product of the late Vedic period. We can trace it, such as it is, to the *ibhas* and *upastis* (or *stis*) of the *ṚV*. and *AV*. texts. What little foundation is there for the view that these and other causes established monarchy "on a firm footing" is proved not only by the indirect evidence of the *Yajus Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* regarding rites for restoring expelled Kings,[14] but also by direct admissions in the *Brāhmaṇas*.[15] Lastly, with reference to the author's contention that the King in the late Vedic period "became a constitutional monarch only exercising authority limited by the law," we have to remember that the comprehensive scheme of the *dharmas* (duties) of *varṇas* and *āśramas* as well as of the individual King, can be traced only from the time of the aphoristic Smṛtis. Of the *Brāhmaṇa* period nothing is more characteris-

14 Cf. *Taitt. Saṃ.*, II. 3. 1; *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 10; *Pañc. Br.*, XVIII. 5. 5-6, etc.

15 Cf. *Kauṣ. Br.*, XVI. 4 which gives in the usual form of dogmatic exposition of the ritual the author's answer to the question, 'Why are the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas unstable, the Viś stable'?

tic than the absence of fixed ideas regarding the King's status in relation to his subjects. Thus while many passages of the *Yajus Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* inculcate the principle of the Brāhmaṇa's superiority to the Kṣatriya, there are other texts which assert the equivalence of these powers and a few which even assert the superiority of the Kṣatriya over the Brāhmaṇa.[16] What little warrant exists for the supposition of the fixed legal or cutomary status of the King at this period is proved by the significant reference in the *Yajus Saṃhitā* texts,[17] to rites by which the priest can manipulate the sacrifice so as to destroy or weaken the *Kṣatra* by the *Viś* and *vice versa*. Even if it were true that the King's functions and duties were 'well-defined' at this period, this would not by itself suffice to make him occupy "a constitutional position" or transform him into "a constitutional monarch only exercising authority limited by the law." For it is only a gratuitous assumption to predicate of this period that "the priests exercised great influence" or that "the popular bodies" "always asserted their rights carefully safe-guarded in the coronation-ritual." In truth the *Yajus Saṃhitā* and *Brāhmaṇa* texts, like those of the *ṚV.* and *AV.*, present a striking contrast between the high pretensions of the priestly order and their actual claims which refer almost exclusively to

16 For the Brāhmaṇas' superiority over the Kṣatriyas, cf. *Taitt. Saṃ.*, II. 6. 2; *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 1; *Śat. Br.*, IV. 1. 4. 1 ff. For their equivalence, cf. *Taitt. Saṃ.*, V. 1. 10. 2; *Ait. Br.*, VII. 22. For the superiority of Kṣatriyas over Brāhmaṇas, cf. *Śat. Br.*, I. 3. 2; *ibid.*, V. 4. 2. 7. For a fuller account, see the writer's work *Hindu Public Life from the earliest times to the accession of the Maurya Dynasty*.

17 Cf. *Maitr. Saṃ.*, III. 3. 10; *Ibid.* IV. 6. 8. *Kāṭh. Saṃ.*, XXI. 10, etc.

private, and not public, rights.[18] As regards the alleged influence of 'the popular bodies,' it is disproved by what the author himself calls "the decay of popular domination" as "easily proved by the absence of the mention of the *Samitis* or the *Saṃgrāmas*" in the *Brāhmaṇas*. Indeed the author elsewhere expresses the opinion so adverse to his view just cited, that "the King's authority no longer depended upon the people, but was made to depend on the sanction of the high universal rulers whom he represented." We would, finally, quote the famous and oft-quoted passage (VII. 29) from the *Ait. Br.* explaining the status of the other castes (at least in certain quarters) from the Kṣatriya's standpoint. From this it would appear that while the Śūdra occupied more or less the position of a hereditary serf without rights of person and property, the Vaiśya bore the burden of taxation and had little or no personal rights and even the Brāhmaṇa could be removed from his holding.[19]

III

In his recently published work *Chandragupta Maurya and His Times* Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji describes the position

18 Cf. *Śat. Br.*, II. 2. 6, which, after referring to two classes of Gods viz. the Gods proper and human Gods (Brāhmaṇas), draws the corollary that gifts should be given to the Brāhmaṇas. For a fuller account with further references, see the author's work *Hindu Public Life*, etc.

19 In the above-quoted text of the *Ait. Br.*, the Brāhmaṇa is declared to be 'an acceptor of gifts, a drinker of Soma, a seeker of livelihood, one to be moved at will' (*ādāyī, āpāyī, āvasāyī, yathākāmaprayāpyaḥ*), the Vaiśya is said to be 'tributary to another, to be eaten by another, to be oppressed at will' (*anyasya balikṛt anyasyādyo yathākāmajyeaḥ*) and the Śūdra is said to be the servant of another, to be removed at will, to be slain at will (*anyasya preṣyaḥ kāmotthāpyo yathākāmavadhyaḥ*).

of the King in the Ancient Indian polity in the context of the Maurya Empire as follows:—

"Ancient India was built upon the basis of decentralisation on principle ....It believed in the self-government of the group, in the extension of self-government from the sovereign at the top through all grades and strata of society down to the lowest classes in the villages. Every village was self-governing. There were also unions of villages as self-governing federations. Ancient India was thus built up as a vast rural democracy," (*Op. cit.*, p. 77).

"Hindu thought counts *Dharma* as the true Sovereign of the State, as the Rule of Law. The King is the executive called the Dāṇḍa to uphold and enforce the decrees of *Dharma* as the spiritual sovereign." ...... (*Op. cit.*, p. 79).

"In this way democracy descends to the villages and the lowest strata of the social structure and operated as the most potent agency of uplifting the masses. Thus ancient Hindu monarchy was a limited monarchy under the very constitution of the State.........The Maurya empire had to fit itself into this traditional frame-work of administration." (*Op. cit.*, p 84).

Let us consider this string of somewhat hasty generalisations in the proper order.

We may point out at the outset that the evidence of administrative decentralisation is almost wholely lacking for the whole of the Vedic period. It is true that as far back as Ṛgvedic times we have reference to an officer called *grāmaṇī* (usually translated as 'leader of the village'), who appears from various incidental references and especially from the part assigned to him in the *Yajus Saṃhitā* and *Brahmaṇa* texts at the Rājasūya to have been a personage of considerable importance. But of self-governing villages or unions of villages or other autonomous social and local groups we have as yet hardly any trace.[1] In the

1 Characteristic of the obscurity of our data for Vedic times is the fact that it is quite uncertain whether the *grāmaṇī* was an elected representative of the villagers or was the King's nominee. Another village officer called *grāmyavādin* (translated as 'village judge') who is mentioned in the *Yajus*

immediately following period we have a number of scattered notices in the *Jātakas* as well as the *Smṛti, Arthaśāstra* and other texts collectively testifying to the exercise of executive and judicial powers at least from time to time by village bodies. The fact, however, remains that the largest and most authentic stock of concrete illustrations of self-governing villages and unions of villages belongs to South India from the eighth and early ninth centuries A.D. down to the time of the Imperial Colas.[2] For the remaining and by far the longer periods of Ancient Indian History our records are almost completely silent about the working of village institutions. It would of course be unwise to derive any positive conclusion from this silence of our authorities.[3] We may, however, point out that such glimpses of rural life as we get from classical Sanskrit literature do not in general suggest a vigorous system of rural self-government.[4] In

Saṃhitā texts is only a name, though his *sabhā* (Court) is referred to in one passage. For references see *Vedic Index. s.v. grāmaṇī* and *grāmyavādin.*

2 On the above see especially R. C. Majumdar, *Corporate Life in Ancient India,* Ch. II; Ratilal N. Mehta, *Pre-Buddhistic India,* pp. 175-78; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas,* Vol. II, Pt. I Ch. XVIII

3 Hopkins doubtless goes too far when in the face of almost complete absence of data from the Great Epic he writes (*The Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India, J.A.O.S.,* Vol. XIII, pp. 17-18):— "As to the constitutional powers of the villages, we have no reason to believe that they had any political rights beside the liberty given to them by the Royal overseer."

4 Take e.g. the wonderfully life-like picture drawn by Bāṇa's master-hand, of the incidents of Harṣa's march from his capital against the King of Gauḍa (*Harṣacarita,* Cowell and Thomas's tr. pp. 206-9). Among the crowd attracted from the country-side by curiosity to see the King are mentioned rogues who complained of imaginary wrongs of former governors (*bhogapati*) and the good acts of past officials (*āyuktakas*), as well as others who were con-

so far as the various social and territorial groups—families, castes and districts, guilds, heretics and corporations etc.—are concerned, we have undoubtedly a number of Smṛti texts enjoining upon the King observance of their *Dharmas* (usually translated as 'laws') and maintenance of their *samaya* or *saṃvit* ('agreement').[5] It does not, however, follow that thereby "these several groups were empowered to legislate for themselves." To prove this point, we may refer, firstly, to the difficulty of implicitly accepting with the author the *Smṛti* rules as part of the organic law of every Indian State.[6] In the second place, the *Smṛti* rules above-quoted would seem for the most part to credit the groups simply with the authority to declare their own customs, to frame mutual agreements and so forth.[7] Indicative also of the limited authority of the groups is the fact that according to Gautama (XI. 20) the observance of their Dharma by the King is contingent on its being in accordance with the sacred law. In the case of the Saṃvit, Bṛhaspati (VIII.

tent with their appointed overseers (*paripālaka-puruṣa*). Is not this description typical of an official-ridden village administration?

5 For references, see Radha Kumud Mookerji, *Local-Government in Ancient India,* Chs. IV-VI.

6 It is worth recording that the concrete instances of the exercise of administrative and other powers by the guilds etc. are even fewer than those in the case of village assemblies.

7 Thus as examples of laws of districts mentioned by Manu, VIII. 41, Medhātithi refers to the *dharmas* of Kuru, Kāsi, and Kāśmīra countries, Govindarāja, Kullūka and Rāghavānanda allude to those of certain districts, Sarvajña-Nārāyaṇa refers to those of the inhabitants of one and the same village and Nandana mentions the southern (Dākṣiṇātya) custom of marrying the daughter of the maternal uncle.

9) explicitly states that it must not be opposed to the interests of the King and must be in accordance with the sacred law.

On a general review of the above facts it seems difficult to follow Dr. Mookerji in postulating for Ancient India "an extension of self-government from the sovereign at the top through all grades and strata of society down to the lowest classes in the villages." In particular, it is difficult to agree with his contention that "Ancient India was built up as a vast rural democracy." In so far as the village group is concerned, it is probable enough that the system of rural self-government evidenced for Northern India by the Jātaka stories as well as the Smṛti and other texts and for South India in the time of the Imperial Coḷas and their immediate predecessors by the more direct testimony of the inscriptions, had in each case a long, but forgotten, history behind it, while it left an unrecorded legacy for succeeding times. We may well believe more generally that the rural self-governing institutions, although systematically ignored by our other authorities, were so firmly rooted in the soil as to survive long periods of misrule and neglect. Making due allowance for all these considerations, we are unable to agree with Dr. Mookerjee about a fundamental law or custom of the constitution fixing the autonomous status of "every village and all "unions of villages" throughout Ancient Indian History. From this standpoint it seems to be opposed to every canon of historical criticism to trace back, as Dr. Mookerji does, the village republics praised by Sir Charles Metcalfe in the early days of British rule through a gap of more than two thousand years to the Maurya and still earlier times. What seems most probable is that while the village

bodies were invested by custom and tradition with substantial rights of self-government, the actual exercise of these powers varied considerably according to the conditions of time and place.

A careful consideration of the foregoing arguments will perhaps suffice to show how insufficient are Dr. Mookerji's grounds, drawn from the working of village and other groups, for the view that "Ancient Hindu monarchy was a limited monarchy under the very constitution of the State." We may next consider Dr. Mookerji's arguments based upon his view of the relation of the King to *Dharma*. The conception of the king's upholding the Dharma can be traced back to two texts of the *Ait. Br.* (VIII. 12 & 17, not VIII. 26 as stated by Dr. Mookerji) applying to the divine King Indra and his earthly counterpart the epithet of *dharmasya goptā* (protector of *dharma*). But there is no hint as yet of the sovereignty of *Dharma* to which perhaps the earliest reference occurs in a famous passage of the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.[7a] By the time of the Epics and metrical *smṛtis* the conception of *dharma* as a complex mass of individual and social duties tracing their origin to the Sacred Law and Tradition and upheld by the King, had taken definite and complete shape. To admit all this, however, is not to conclude with Dr. Mookerji that the King was merely charged with upholding and enforcing the decrees of *Dharma*. For in the first place, we have a number of important *Artha-śāstra* and *Smṛti* texts completely ignored by the author, which at least agree in including *rājaśāsana* (the King's edict), along

7a See *Ibid.*, IV. 4. 14 stating that *dharma* is the *kṣatra* of the *kṣatra*, and that there is nothing higher than *dharma*.

with *dharma* (smṛti law), *vyavahāra* (secular law), and *caritra* (custom), among the sources of law administered in the courts.[8] Among other objections that may be urged against Dr. Mookerji's thesis is that besides the above-mentioned difficulty of taking the *smṛti* rules as part of the organic law of every Indian State, we have no evidence of a permanently constituted human authority capable of calling the King to account for violation of the *dharma*. Dr. Mookerji, indeed, refers to the *Pariṣad* said to consist of legal experts, which according to the *smṛti* texts was entrusted with the decision of doubtful points of *Dharma*. But between the *Pariṣad* as contemplated in these texts and a council for controlling the King, there is all the difference between a fortuitous gathering with no fixed constitution or powers of initiative and with little sanction and a permanent as well as regularly constituted body with well-defined powers of action.[9] If, indeed, we are to judge by the

8 The important text occurring in *Arthaśāstra* (VIII. 1) is as follows:—
Dharmaśca vyavahāraśca caritram rājaśāsanam|
Vivādārthas-catuṣpādo paścimaḥ pūrvavādhakaḥ||
Nārada (I. 10) has in place of the last quarter (*pāda*) *uttaraḥ pūrvavādhakaḥ* which apparently is in flat contradiction with the above. For a definition of *rājaśāsana*, see *Kātyāyana Smṛti*, verse 38. For a discussion of these texts, see K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Rājadharma*, pp. 132-34.

9 Dr. Mookerji's description *op. cit.*, p. 79 of the Pariṣad as consisting of "a body of legal experts, called *śiṣṭas*" hardly does justice to the varied qualifications of the members as enjoined by the *smṛtis*. Cf. Manu, XII. 111 (*S.B.E.*, Vol. XXV. p. 510:)—"Three persons who each know one of the three principal Vedas, a logician, a *mīmāṃsaka*, one who knows the *Nirukta*, one who recites (the Institutes of) the *Sacred Law*, and three men belonging to the first three orders, shall constitute a (legal) assembly, consisting of at least ten members." We may take this opportunity to point out a few slips in Dr. Mookerji's quotation and translation of the relevant texts. He quotes (p. 79) Manu as

example of a seventeenth century Hindu State, the learned assemblies of the Brāhmaṇas in ancient times did not function as a constitutional check on the King's authority.[10]

declaring the sources of law to be (1) Veda or Śruti, (2) Smṛti or Dharmaśāstra, (3) Śīla or code of conduct enjoined by the *śāstras* and (4) Ācāra or the manners and customs of holy men. Now in the two passages (Manu II. 6 & 12) to which Dr. Mookerji undoubtedly refers, the sources are stated to be (1) Veda (2) Smṛti (or else Smṛti and Śīla of those versed in the Veda) (3) good custom (*ācāra*) and (4) self-satisfaction. On p. 82 Dr. Mookerji quotes *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIV. 4. 2. 23) as stating that "the *Daṇḍa* or the King is necessary to maintain *Dharma* or those 'principles of justice by which the strong are prevented from eating up the weak' (*abalīyān balīyāmsam-āśaṃsate dharmeṇa yathā*)". Now the extract referred to occurs in the context of the famous story in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* I. 4. 11-14 of the creation of the Brāhmaṇa, the Kṣatriya, the Vaiśya, the Śūdra and *Dharma successively* by Prajāpati. No reference is found in it to the *Daṇḍa* or the King maintaining Dharma. Again, the passage quoted by Dr. Mookerji in the original, which ends in *yathā*, unfortunately leaves the sense incomplete without the addition of the next word *rajñaivam*. In this complete form the passage means that even a weak man desires to overcome a strong one with the aid of *Dharma*, just as a man in ordinary life desires to do with the help of a King. It is difficult to understand how this passage could be construed to refer to those "principles of justice by which the strong are prevented from eating up the weak." Again, Dr. Mookerji quotes (p. 83) a passage from *Arthaśāstra*, VIII. 1 purporting to mean that "subject to *Dharma* or the Law and Constitution of the realm, the sovereign had the supreme power in the State as its Head. (*Kūṭasthāniyo hi svāmīti*)." But the first part of this statement is altogether wanting in the text which simply means that the King is the head of the seven *prakṛtis* (or elements of sovereignty). In Dr. Mookerji's quotation the *tat* referring to the *prakṛtis* and occurring at the beginning of the sentence is left out, while the word *iti* added at the end is a superfluity.

10 See Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II. Pt. 1 *s.v. Pariṣad*, for examples of decisions by learned Brāhmaṇas in the Maratha State under Sivaji and his son. For restrictions on the authority of Brāhmaṇical as well as other caste *pariṣads*, see K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *op. cit.*, p. 100 giving full references.

ON THE NATURE AND FUNCTIONS OF VEDIC ASSEMBLIES.

I

Describing the composition and functions of the Vedic Assemblies, Dr. K. P. Jayaswal in his *Hindu Polity* writes as follows:—

"The *Samiti* was the national assembly of the whole people or Viśaḥ."

"The *Samiti* was a product of the developed, not early, Vedic age."

"It seems that the village formed the basis of the constitution of the *Samiti*."

"Probably [the *Sabhā*] was the standing and stationary body of selected men working under the authority of the *Samiti*."

"One function of the *Sabhā* is definitely clear. The *Sabhā* acted as the national judicature."

"The rise of the *Sabhā* is to be dated, like that of the *Samiti*, in the latest period of the Ṛgveda."

"[The *Vidatha*] seems to have been the parent folk-assembly from which the *Sabhā*, *Samiti* and *Senā* differentiated." *Op. cit.*, Part I, pp. 11-20.

Let us consider these points *seriatim:*

In his *Altindisches Leben* Zimmer pointed out long ago that the *Samiti* was the assembly of the Folk in which the King took part.[1] In inferring from one of the texts quoted by Zimmer (*ṚV*. IX. 92. 6) that it was the King's duty to attend the *Samiti*, Dr. Jayaswal has added a fresh argument in support of the above thesis. Another text (*ṚV*. X. 97. 6) quoted by Dr. Jayaswal, however, which uses the simile of Kings in a *Samiti* was interpreted by Zimmer (probably with better reason)

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 174: "Die Versammlung des Stammes heisst *Samiti;* an ihr nimmt der König Antheil."

to refer to a type of constitution similar to what prevailed in Ancient Germany as described by Tacitus. In this constitution there was no single head in times of peace, the members of the ruling house exercising power equally.[2] Dr. Jayaswal breaks new ground by suggesting for the *Samiti* a representative character. But though he could claim for his theory the analogy of the Anglo-Saxon Folk-moot, his arguments do not appear to be very convincing. Referring to the *Chh. Up.* story of Śvetaketu's going to the *Samiti* of the *Pañcālas* (which, by the way, belongs to a very late Vedic stratum), he considers it "hardly probable that the whole nation without any principle of representation would be actually present" "where philosophers and statesmen were sitting." But was not the Athenian Ecclesia, which in its days of glory was attended by Themistocles and Pericles, an assembly of the whole people? Is there, again, any reason to suspect that the Ṛgvedic states were larger in size than the Athenian State in Pericles's time? Dr. Jayaswal finds a concrete instance of Vedic application of the principle of representation in the position of the *Grāmaṇī* who was "a representative *persona* in the coronation ceremony." The reference here is of course to the inclusion of the *Grāmaṇī* in the list of recipients of the *ratnahaviṣ* (offering to the "Jewel holders") at the Rājasūya. But although the allusion to the *Grāmaṇī* (in the singular) at the above ceremony is as yet an unsolved problem, Dr. Jayaswal has failed to quote any evidence for the representative character of this personage in the same

2 For discussion of this point with full references, see the writer's paper "*Some types of constitutions in the Vedic Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas*," *Prācyavāṇī*, Calcutta, Vol. 1, no. 1.

connection. In particular, he has not considered the suggestion[3] that this officer was probably the *Grāmaṇī* of the village or city where the royal residence was situated. Dr. Jayaswal quotes *AV.* XII. 1. 56 and *Tait. Saṃ.* II. 1. 8. 4 as referring to village meetings. Even if these interpretations were correct, it would not by itself support the theory that "the village formed the basis of the constitution of the *Samiti.*" But do the above texts bear out Dr. Jayaswal's interpretation? The *AV.* passage, which is taken from a long hymn in honour of the goddess Pṛthivī (Earth deified), is as follows:—

Ye grāmā yad-araṇyam yāḥ sabhā adhi bhūmyām|
Ye saṃgrāmāḥ samitayasteṣu cāru vadema te||

In the above Jayaswal takes *saṃgrāmāḥ* and *samitayaḥ* to be in apposition to each other and he translates *ye saṃgrāmāḥ samitayaḥ* as "the assembled *Samitis.*" From this he infers that "those who (*sic*) were assembled together were the villages together." Now another *AV.* passage (XV. 9. 2-3) which Jayaswal quotes in part in another context (p. 20) runs as follows:—

tam sabhāśca samitiśca senā ca surā cānuvyacalan| ('Him followed the *Sabhā,* the *Samiti,* the *Senā* and the *Surā*'). This passage proves conclusively that the *Sabhā,* the *Samiti,* the *Senā* (evidently the equivalent of *Saṃgrāma* in the former text) and *surā* (probably referring to dinking-parties such as were known as *āpāṇaka* in the time of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*) were distinct, though closely associated, bodies.[4]

3 Eggeling, *SBE.,* Vol. XLI, p. 60; *V.I., s.v. grāma.*

4 Cf. Whitney and Lanman's tr.:—'What villages, what forest, what

Putting the two texts together, it is natural to infer that the *Sabhā*, the *Samiti*, the *Senā—Saṃgrāma* between themselves exhausted, according to the poet, the principal gatherings of the Folk, just as the villages and the forest comprised between them the whole tract of country. As regards the *Taitt.* text which occurs in a long series of *Kāmyeṣṭis*, the relevant portion is the following:—

saṃgrāme saṃyatte samayakāmaḥ.

Jayaswal takes it to mean 'the village-together meeting desirous of agreement.' But this explanation is evidently a forced one and is unsupported either by the authority of ancient commentators or of modern interpreters who agree in taking *saṃgrāma* in the sense of battle.[5]

As regards the antiquity of the *Samiti*, Jayaswal's view seems to be self-contradictory. 'The *Samiti*,' he says in one place, 'was a product of the developed, not early, Vedic age,' while elsewhere he thinks that it must have been an ancient institution "even in the Vedic Age." If, as is generally held, the *Samiti* was the Popular Assembly of the Vedic people, it must have come down, to judge by Greek, Roman and Teutonic analogies, from almost immemorial times.[6] By the time that

assemblies (are) upon the earth, what hosts, gatherings—in them may we speak what is pleasant to thee.'

5 Cf. Sāyaṇa on the above:—*parakīya-senāyāmīdṛśameva śūratamam haniṣyāmīti svāmino'gre yaḥ pratijñām kartumicchati tasya paśum vidhatte/ yadvā sandhikāminaḥ paśum vidhatte//.* Also cf. Keith's tr., *HOS.*, Vol. 18, p. 142:—"He who when a combat is joined desires an agreement" etc.

6 Indeed it has been held that the folk-assembly goes back to the Indo-European times. Cf. Otto Schrader, *Reallexikon der Indo-Germanischen Altertumskunde, s.v. Volksversammlung.*

the *Samiti* emerges into history in the latest parts of the *ṚV.* and in the *AV.*, it had acquired the important right of debate unknown even to its Teutonic counterpart. But that the *Samiti* had a president (*Pati* or *Īśāna*), as Jayaswal thinks, hardly follows from the text of the *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* quoted by him. In truth Pāraskara refers to the *Īśāna* of the *Parṣat* which apparently he takes to be equivalent to *Sabhā*.[7] We are tempted to identify this lord of the *Parṣat* with the *Sabhāpati* mentioned in the *Śatarudrīya* text of the *Yajus Saṃhitās*.[8]

We now come to Jayaswal's statement that "the *Samiti* was a sovereign body from the constitutional point of view." We have an instance of a Sovereign Popular Assembly in the Ancient German constitution described by Tacitus. Describing this constitution, Stubbs says,[9]

'The central power was wielded by the national assemblies. These were held at fixed times..........Of matters of deliberation the more important were transacted in the full assembly at which all freemen were entitled to be present..........Of the greater questions were those of war and peace........ The magistrates for the administration of justice in the *pagi* and *vici* were elected in the general council. It also acted, in its sovereign capacity, as a high court of justice, heard complaints and issued capital sentences."

Now we have no data of a similar kind for the Vedic *Samiti*. Jayaswal indeed finds in *ṚV.* X. 191. 3 and *AV.* VI 64 evidence that matters of state were discussed in the *Samiti*. But this is based upon his translation of *mantra* in the fore-

7 See *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra*, III, 13. 1:—*athātaḥ sabhā-praveśanam| sabhām-abhyeti.........atha praviśati.........parṣadametya japed.........asyāḥ parṣada Īśānaḥ sahasā suduṣṭaro jana iti.* In the above Jayarāma explains *parṣadam* as *sabhām*.

8 *Vāj. Saṃ.* XVI. 24; *Taitt. Saṃ* IV. 5. 3. 2; *Kāṭh-Saṃ.* XVII. 13.

9 *Constitutional History of England*, Vol. I, pp. 30-31.

going passages as 'policy of state' or 'matters of state,' which is evidently a forced one and for which no authority is given. Jayaswal's view that 'the most important business of the *Samiti*' was 'electing the *Rājan*' and that 'it could also re-elect a King,' was advocated long ago by Zimmer.[10] But the most important texts quoted by the last-named scholar were interpreted by Geldner in a different sense so as to apply to the acceptance of the King by his subjects and not to his election by the clan or canton.[11] On the other hand there are other Vedic texts not noticed by Jayaswal, which indirectly testify to the high constitutional status of the *Samiti*. Take e.g. *AV*. VIII. 10. 5-6 which pointedly illustrates the deliberative function of the *Samiti* as well as the *Sabhā*.[12] That the *Samiti*, evidently as the Popular Assembly *par excellence*, was a most important asset to the King is suggested by two *AV*. *passages*.[13] Again, amid the uncertainties of the texts there is a remarkable

10 *Op. cit.*, p. 175:—"In Wahlmonarchien fand Zweifelsohne durch die vereinigten Viś in der *Samiti* die Erkürung des Herrschers statt."

11 See Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, II, 303. In *ṚV*. X. 124. 8 (*Viśo na rājānam vṛṇānāḥ*) and *AV*. III, 4. 2 (*tvām viśo vṛṇatām rājyāya*) he explains the root *vṛ* to mean *vāñch* (to desire), and *viso* to mean subjects, not clan or canton.

12 In this passage we are told how the mystical abstraction *Virāj* successively ascended and descended in the *sabhā*, the *samiti* and the *āmantraṇa* (tr. as 'consultation personified' by Griffith; Whitney and Lanman, *AV*. tr., p. 512, doubtfully translate it as 'address').

13 See *AV*. V, 19. 15 which mentions at the end of a long list of imprecations against the Kṣatriya injuring or robbing a Brāhmaṇa, the terse statement that the *samiti* does not suit him (*nāsmai samitiḥ kalpate*). On the other hand *AV*. VI, 88. 3 conveying a prayer for a newly consecrated King states at the end of a list of blessings that the *Samiti* may suit him (*dhruvāya te samitiḥ kalpatāmiha*).

reference in the *Śat. Br.* (VII, 1. 1. 4) clearly pointing to the right of control possessed by the Popular Assembly[13a] over the distribution of public lands. On the whole, it seems desirable, in the complete absence of any data comparable to the Anglo-Saxon charters, laws and references to historical works, to suspend our judgment regarding the sovereign character of the Vedic *Samiti*. In the parallel example of the Anglo-Saxon National Council, intensive research has proved recently what little foundation exists for the older view of its being a sovereign body.[14]

Turning to the parallel institution of the *Sabhā*, we find Jayaswal holding that it was "the standing and stationary body of selected men working under the authority of the *Samiti*." As he himself admits, this is a mere hypothesis not deducible from the available data. It is, however, difficult to reconcile this

13a The passage may be quoted in Eggeling's translation as follows:—

"To whomsoever the Kṣatriya with the approval of the *viś* grants a settlement, that is properly given." As was observed by the present writer in another connection (*Agrarian System in Ancient India*, p. 83), "This passage evidently refers to the public land of the Folk or the State, and it seems to mean that while the King's gift of such land with the consent of the people was in accordance with the tribal or customary law, it was sometimes arbitrarily disposed of by the sole authority of the ruler."

14 See e.g. R. Munro Chadwick, *Studies in Anglo-Saxon Institutions*, Excursus IV. There we are told that the functions of the Anglo-Saxon Council, notwithstanding instances of dependence of individual Kings on popular support, were essentially of a deliberative character. As regards the Council's alleged right of electing and deposing the King, the royal succession after the tenth century according to the same authority followed in the overwhelming majority of known instances the ordinary system of primogeniture, while in Bede's time the succession was not left to the Council but was settled beforehand by the sovereign.

hypothesis with Jayaswal's statement made elsewhere [14a] that like the *Samiti* the *Sabha* "also was a popular body." Jayaswal finds in *AV*. VII. 12. 2 reference to the fact that "free discussion was held in the *Sabhā* and a resolution of the *Sabhā* was considered binding on all and inviolable." Now the relevant portion of the text just quoted is in the Śaunaka recension as follows:

Vidma te sabhe nāma nariṣṭā nāma vā asi. This is translated by Bloomfield[15] as

"We know thy name O assembly, Mirth verily is thy name,"

while Whitney and Lanman[16] translate it as follows:—

"We know thy name O assembly, verily sport by name art thou."

In place of the above interpretation of *Nariṣṭā* as 'mirth' or 'sport,' Jayaswal quotes the authority of Sāyaṇa who takes it in the sense of 'not injured' and justifies his meaning by referring to the inviolability of the resolution of the *Sabhā*.[17] Now it appears from the context that the second verse just quoted is meant especially to apply to the *Sabhā* unlike the first which refers both to the *Sabhā* and the *Samiti*. If, as Jayaswal thinks, the *Samiti* was the sovereign body in the State, it is inconceivable that the binding and inviolable character of its resolutions should be held to be the exclusive attribute of the *Sabhā*. Again, in the list of symbolical victims at the Puruṣamedha[18] we find *Bhīmala* (explained by the commentator as *bhayaṅkara* i.e. 'the terrible') dedicated to *Nariṣṭa*. More-

14a *Op. cit.*, Part I. p. 17.

15 S.B.E., Vol. XLII, p. 138.

16 H.O.S., Vol. 18, p. 391.

17 See Sāyaṇa on above:—*nariṣṭā ahiṃsitā paraiḥranabhibhāvyā* ... *anatilaṅghyavākyatvāt nariṣṭetināma.*

18 *Vāj. Sam.*, XXX. 6; *Taitt. Br.*, III. 4. 2. 1.

over in the Vedic *mantra* quoted in *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra*, which seems to be a reminiscence of the *AV*. verses above cited, *Sabhā* is significantly called *nādiḥ* and *tviṣiḥ*[19] explained by the commentator Jayarāma as *nadanaśīlā* ('sounding') and *dīptā* ('shining') respectively. Finally, in the Paippalāda recension of the *AV*. the text above quoted occurs in the variant form:—

Veda vai sabhe te nāma subhadrā'si sarasvatī,

which seems to suggest for *Sabhā* a connotation similar to 'mirth' or 'sport' stated above. These facts would seem to cast grave doubts upon Sāyaṇa's interpretation of *nariṣṭā* which is accepted implicitly by Jayaswal.[19a]

Dr. Jayaswal's contention that 'the *Sabhā* acted as a national judicature'' is essentially a reflection of the much older

19 The mantras are as follows:—*sabhāṅgirasi nādirnāmāsi tviṣirnāmāsi tasyaite nāma* and *sabhā ca mā samitis-cobhe prajāpaterduhitarau sacetanau* etc. with which we may compare *AV*. VII. 12. 1-2:—*sabhā ca mā samitis-cāvatām prajāpaterduhitarau saṃvidāne* and *vidma te sabhe nāma nariṣṭā nāma vā asi*.

19*a* In further support of the above arguments I append below a note on the term *nariṣṭā* kindly contributed by my learned friend Pandit Ksitish Chandra Chattopadhyaya, M.A., of the Calcutta University. "*Nariṣṭā* is a peculiar word found in the *AV*. That its etymology was early forgotten is clear from the fact that it occurs as *nariṣṭhā* in the *Vāj. Saṃ*. The accent in the second syllable would seem to preclude the *taddhita* suffix *iṣṭhan*, as also the idea of *nam-tatpuruṣa*. The only way, therefore, open to us is to regard it as a *bahubrīhi* of *na* and *riṣṭa*. It is not analysed in the *Pada* text of either school, though the Prātiśākhya of each school notes this. Western scholars generally connect the word with Skt. *narma* and German *Narr*. and hold it to mean 'merriment', 'sport'—a sense supported by the context in which it is found. Sāyaṇa's explanation of the word in the *AV*. is doubtful, as both the accent and the feminine form appear to be irregular in the case of a *tatpuruṣa* compound with *nam*."

views of Ludwig and Zimmer.[20] To the passages quoted by these scholars, Jayaswal has added the text of *Pāraskara Gṛhya-sūtra* just cited. Adopting Oldenberg's translation[21] of *nādiḥ* and *tviṣiḥ* in this passage as 'trouble' and 'vehemence,' he writes, "As trouble and vehemence were in store there for the culprit, the *Sabhā* seems to have acquired those names." Some of the other texts quoted by Jayaswal after Ludwig and Zimmer, however, were interpreted differently by other scholars—a fact which has unfortunately been ignored by Jayaswal. Take, e.g., *Vāj. Saṃ.*, xx. 17 (repeated with slight variations in *Taitt. Saṃ.*, I. 8. 3, 1, *Kaṭh. Saṃ.*, IX. 4, *Maitr. Saṃ.*, I. 10. 2) containing a prayer by a royal sacrificer and his wife for expiation of wrong done in village or forest or *Sabhā*. On the authority of Mahīdhara's commentary on *Vājasaneya Saṃhitā*, Ludwig and Zimmer took the reference to *Sabhā* to relate to 'attacks on the great' or to 'partiality in deciding disputes.' Eggeling, however, who is supported by the authors of the *Vedic Index*[22] has suggested that the above may refer to gambling and other non-political activities of the *Sabhā*. To us it seems that the solemnity and comprehensiveness of the penitential formula in the Yajus texts above cited best accords with the political activities of the royal pair in the *Sabhā*.[23]

20 Ludwig, *ṚV.* tr., III. 253-55; Zimmer; *op. cit.*, pp. 172-74.

21 *S.B.E.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 362.

22 See Eggeling *S.B.E.*, Vol. XII, p. 398; *Vedic Index, s.v.*

23 The passage is quoted below in Keith's tr., *op. cit.*, p. 115:—

"The wrong we have done in village or wild,
In the assembly, in our members,
The wrong to Śūdra or Aryan
The wrong contrary to the law of either,
Of that thou art the expiation, hail."

Jayaswal's statement that the *Sabhā* like the *Samiti* dated from the latest Ṛgvedic period is based on the argument that *ṚV*. x. 71. 10 gives the only reference to *Sabhā* in the constitutional sense. This view ignores the fact that Ludwig e.g. took a number a passages of the early Ṛgvedic period[24] to support his view that the *Sabhā* was the exclusive assembly of the Brāhmaṇas and Maghavans ('rich patrons').

Turning now to the *Vidatha* we find Jayaswal regarding it as "the parent folk-assembly" on the authority of Roth who associated it with civil, military and religious functions. In the St. Petersburg Dictionary, however, the meaning of *Vidatha* is given primarily as 'order', secondly as 'the concrete body giving orders' and finally, as the assembly for secular or religious purposes or for war.' Jayaswal, again, is completely silent about other interpretations of the term which are contrary to the sense of 'assembly.' Thus while Ludwig and Zimmer agree with Roth in taking *Vidatha* at least in the derivative sense of 'assembly,' Oldenburg, Geldner and Bloomfield interpret it as 'sacrifice' at least in a derivative sense.[25] Even within the first group of scholars there is room for considerable difference of opinion. For unlike Roth Ludwig held it to mean primarily the assembly of Maghavans and Brāhmaṇas, while Zimmer took it to be a smaller assembly than the *Samiti*. In view of these differences it seems impossible to predicate any certain attribute of the Vedic *Vidatha*.

24 Cf. *sabheyo vipraḥ* (*ṚV*. II. 24. 13) and *rayiḥ sabhāvān* (*ṚV*. IV. 2. 5) quoted by Ludwig, *loc. cit.*

25 See Ludwig, *op. cit.*, pp. 259 ff.; Zimmer, *op. cit.*, p. 177; Oldenberg, *S.B.E.*, Vol. 46. p. 26; Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, I. 147; Bloomfield, *J.A.O.S.*, Vol. 19, pp. 12 ff.

II

Dr. Narayan Chandra Bandyopadhyaya's views on the nature of the Vedic assemblies may be quoted in his own words as follows:—

"Probably early *Sabhās* were of the type [of associations of the kin], but later on the *Sabhā* became not only an association of kinsfolk, but of men bound together either by ties of blood or of local contiguity."

"That *Sabhā* which held the conspicuous place in the political institutions of the community," "which we may designate as the Political Council," "was a central aristocratic gathering associated with the King."

"The *Sabhā* was the advisory body to the King ... It acted as a Judicial Assembly."

"The *Samiti* was also known by other names i.e. *Saṃgati* or *Saṃgrāma*."

"[We] come to the following conclusions as regards the character of the *Samiti*:—(1) That it was a gathering of the whole folk of the community, (2) It was the assembly of the *rāṣṭra*, (3) That it had a close connection with the Royal person and met on all important occasions like royal coronation, in times of war or national calamity (*sic*). Probably, this *Samiti* was convened to elect and accept the King or to approve of his acts." *Op. cit.*, pp. 110-18.

We shall consider these points in the proper order:

Beginning with the original character of the *Sabhā*, it is probable enough that it was at first an association of kinsmen.[26] But the author's comparison of *Sabhā* with "I.E. *Sebh-ā*" and with the cognate forms "O.E. *Sibb.*, Ger. *Sippe.*, Goth. *Sibja*" should be corrected as follows:—"Cf. *I.E. *S(u)e-bho* and the related forms O.E. *Sib(b)*, O.H.G. *Sipp(e)a*, Goth. *Sibja*, and Mod. German *Sippe*." The author may be right in his supposition that the *Sabhā* subsequently "came to mean any kind of gathering, for religious purposes, for sport or for discussion of local interest (*sic*)." As for his view that the *Sabhā par excellence* was 'the Political Council' with an aristocratic constitu-

26 Cf. Otto Schrader, *op. cit.*, *s.v.* Volksversammlung.

tion, it follows more or less the same arguments and repeats the same conclusion as those of Ludwig.[27] The author, however, has failed to consider the later criticisms of Ludwig's intrepretations of the most relevant texts.[28] Assuming that the *Sabhā* was 'the political council,' the author's comparison of its evolution with that of "the Council of Chiefs among the Teutons, the Senate among the Romans and the Witanagemot (*sic*) among the Anglo-Saxons" is singularly unfortunate. For it is a well-known fact that while the Witenagemot was an offshoot of the Folkmoot, neither the Teutonic Council of Principes described by Tacitus nor the Roman Senate had a popular origin. While on his subject the author quotes *Chh. Up.*, v. 3. 6. *ibid.*, VIII 14. 1 and "*Śat. Br.*, II. 5. 14" (a slip for III. 4. 14) to prove, in opposition to Zimmer, the intimate connection of the *Sabhā* with the King. This view can claim the support of the authors of the *Vedic Index*, who also quote two of the texts just cited. We may, however, observe that the *Chhāndogya* passages belong to the late Vedic period when the *Sabhā* had apparently become restricted to the narrow sense of 'the Council' or 'the Court.' As for the *Śat. Br.*, text, the author's comment that "Soma is here spoken of as an Emperor or Overlord holding a durbar or court to which under-Kings are flocking together" practically reproduces the words of Eggeling in the

27 *Op. cit.*, pp. 253-56.

28 Thus Bloomfield *J.A.O.S.*, Vol. 19, pp. 13, 18, while agreeing that the *sabhā* generally means a public assembly, finds for it in a few *ṚV.* and *AV.* passages simply the sense of 'house' or 'parlour'—a sense already attributed in the St. Petersberg Dictionary to the *sabhā* in a number of Vedic texts. Bloomfield explains (*loc. cit.*,) *rayiḥ sabhāvān* as 'wealth consisting of houses' and *vidathyaḥ sabheyaḥ* (*ṚV.* I. 91. 20) as 'genteel, of good house.'

footnote to his translation.[29] The author, however, completely overlooks the different version of the Kāṇva recension quoted by Eggeling in the same context. If, indeed, we are to judge from the epithet *Sabhāpati* occurring in the *Yajus* texts above cited, the connection of the *Sabhā* with the King must have become indirect at a relatively early period. The author's view based upon the authority of *AV.* VII. 12, namely that the *Sabhā* was the advisory body to the King, is plausible enough. Again, his opinion that the *Sabhā* acted as the judicial assembly is practically identical with the view of Dr. Jayaswal which we have fully considered above. The author, however, it must be mentioned, has failed to explain how a body, which in one aspect was a 'political council' with an aristocratic constitution or "the advisory council of the selected few", could in another aspect be regarded as a "judicial assembly." As regards the *Samiti,* the author's identification of this assembly with the *Saṃgati* of *ṚV.* X. 141. 4 was anticipated long ago by Ludwig whose view was accepted by the authors of the *Vedic Index.*[30] But the author's further identification of *Samiti* with *Saṃgrāma,* though supported by quotations from Yāska and Sāyaṇa, is contradicted by the *AV.* text mentioned above, distinguishing *Sabhā, Samiti* and *Saṃgrāma* as separate, though evidently associated, bodies. Coming to another point, the

29 The passage is thus translated by Eggeling, *S.B.E.,* Vol. 26, pp. 79-80. "Even his (Soma's) own Kings come (to him) to attend the *Sabhā* and he is the first to salute the Kings, for he is gracious.' On the other hand the Kāṇva text, according to the same scholar, is as follows:—"For he is his gracious lord, therefore he heeds not even a King and yet (?) he is the first to salute the Kings; thus he is indeed gracious to them."

30 Ludwig, *op. cit.,* p. 253; *VI. s.v.*

author's views regarding the composition and functions of the *Samiti* repeat for the most part those of Dr. Jayaswal which we have discussed above, although he does not go to the length of calling it the sovereign body in the State. We need here only observe that there seems to be no warrant for the author's statement that the *Samiti* met on all important occasions like those of the royal coronation, war or other national calamity.

ON SOME TEXTS RELATING TO THE OWNERSHIP OF THE SOIL

In *Hindu Polity*[1] Dr. K. P. Jayaswal has presented us with an elaborate discussion relating to the question of ownership of the land in Ancient India. In the course of this discussion he examines a number of important passages from the literature of *Mīmāṃsā, Smṛti* and *Arthaśāstra*, and he concludes that there is no evidence for ascribing to the king the right of property in the soil. In the present paper we propose to consider three of these passages to show how far Dr. Jayaswal has succeeded in proving his case.

I.

We shall first take the passage[1a] wherein the *Manusmṛti* gives the rule of law relating to the king's share in ancient treasure as well as metals hidden underground. It runs as follows:—

nidhīnān-tu purāṇānāṃ dhātūnām-eva ca kṣitau |
arddhabhāg-rakṣaṇādrājā bhūmer-adhipatir-hi saḥ ||

Bühler in his English translation of the *Manusaṃhitā*[2] took the last *pāda* to mean "(and) because he is lord of the soil," and pointedly drew attention to this "distinct recognition of the principle that the ownership of all land is vested in the king." He claimed to find support for his interpretation in the concluding portion of Medhātithi's commentary on the above which he translated in the following way:

1 Part II, pp. 173-88.

1a VIII, 39.

2 See *S.B.E.*, Vol. XV, p. 260 and *n*.

"[The king] is lord of the soil (*bhūmi*); it is just that a share should be given to him of that which is found in the soil belonging to him."

This explanation is altogether rejected by Dr. Jayaswal who substitutes for it a highly original interpretation of his own. He first renders the phrase "*bhūmer-adhipatir-hi saḥ*" as "the king is the protector of both the upper and the sub-soil (*sic.*)." Then he proceeds to quote and interpret in his own way[3] what he thinks to be the "real portion" of Medhātithi's commentary:—

" '*atra hetu rakṣaṇād-iti yadyapi kṣitau nihitasya kenacid-ajñānān-na rājakīyarakṣopayujyate tathāpi tasya balavatāpahāraḥ sambhāvyate ato'sty—eva rakṣāyā arthavattvam etadartha-mevāha bhūmeradhipatir hi saḥ.*'

"Medhātithi...says that although no one knows what is there in the land and the government has to do very little guarding there, yet as there is a likelihood of the whole land being taken away by a strong enemy, the king is entitled to his 'share' for this constructive protection."

This statement is open to objection on more than one ground. For, in the first place, even if we follow Dr. Jayaswal, in taking the phrase '*bhūmeradhipatiḥ*, as consisting of three distinct words '*bhūmeḥ*' '*adhi*' and '*pati*' and understand the last term to mean 'protector,'' how is it possible to render the whole, as Dr. Jayaswal does, in the sense of 'protector of both the upper and the sub-soil'? The natural meaning of *adhipati* would seem to be *adhikaḥ pati*, 'superior protector' or 'lord,' And does Medhātithi, after all, support the theory of the king's protectorship, as distinguished from the ownership, of the

3 *Op. cit.*, Pt. II, pp. 173-4 and note. Jayaswal wrongly reads *nihatasya* for *nihitasya*.

soil? In the extract quoted above from his commentary, the point that is sought to be explained is evidently the use of the word '*rakṣaṇāt*' with reference to what is hidden underground. Dr. Jayaswal understands Medhātithi to assert the king's protectorship of the whole land.[4] But he overlooks the fact that the word '*tasya*' in the extract '*tasya balavatā*' etc. is in the masculine gender and cannot therefore possibly stand for the preceding '*kṣitau*' which is feminine. Medhātithi, indeed, does not leave us in doubt as to his meaning. For in the lines immediately following those quoted by Dr. Jayaswal, we read *prabhur-asau bhūmes-tadīyāyāśca bhuvo yallabdhaṃ tatra yuktaṃ tasya bhāgadānam.*

Here the mention of '*prabhu,*' lord or sovereign as a synonym for '*adhipati*' is decisive as to the meaning of the latter term. If the above arguments are accepted as correct, it will follow that Jayaswal's charge[4a] against Bühler relating to the quotation of a mutilated text of Medhātithi and the consequent misinterpretation of his meaning has recoiled on his own head.

II.

The second passage would seem to involve a still more decisive answer to the question of ownership of the soil than the passage first quoted, for it apparently contrasts the rights of the king with those of his subjects. Here, however, Dr. Jayaswal has criticised the reading of the text as given

4 Cf. his translation:—"As there is likelihood of the whole land being taken away by a strong enemy, the king is entitled to his 'share' for this constructive protection."

4a *Op. cit.*, p. 174 *n*.

by another scholar and has advanced a correspondingly different interpretation. The passage is a verse quoted by Bhaṭṭasvāmin in the course of his commentary on Kauṭilya's *Artha-śāstra* (II. 24). In Dr. R. Shamasastry's edition it was quoted as follows:—

rājā bhūmeḥ patir-dṛṣṭaḥ śāstrajñairudakasya ca/.
tābhyām-anyattu yad-dravyaṃ tatra svāmyam kuṭumbinām//.

It was translated by Dr. Shamasastry[4b] as follows:—

"Those who are well versed in the *śāstras* admit that the king is the owner of both land and water, and that the people can exercise their right of ownership over all other things excepting these two."

This explanation was accepted with avidity by the late Dr. Vincent Smith[5] in justification of his thesis that

"The native law of India has always recognised agricultural land as being crown property."

Against this view Dr. Jayaswal has poured forth the vials of his patriotic indignation.[5a] He begins by giving a new reading of the text which he claims to be based upon a copy of the original manuscript now deposited in the Madras Government Oriental Research Library:—

rāja bhūmeḥ patir-dṛṣṭaḥ śāstrajñairudakasya ca/|
tābhyām-anyattu yad-dravyaṃ tatra sāmyam kuṭumbinām//

Then he proceeds to translate it in the following way:—

"The king is the protector (*pati*), according to the opinion of the learned in the śāstras, of the *bhūmi* (land) and water. Excepting these two whatever property there may be, his family members have sameness of right therein."

4b *Arthaśāstra* tr., p. 144.

5 *Early History of India*, 3rd ed. p. 131 *n; Oxford History of India*, p. 90.

5a *Op. cit.*, Part II. pp. 182-3.

This, according to Dr. Jayaswal, is "in effect the theory ot *Mīmāṃsā* and the law and constitution" "retold in connection with the rights of the family of a ruler." It involves, in other words, the doctrine that the king is only a protector (and not owner) and hence there is no co-parcenary of his family members therein. Now it is not a little significant that another scholar who has had the advantage of drawing upon the original manuscript has furnished a reading which fully agrees with that of Shamasastry given above. We refer to Mm. Ganapati Sastri who reads[6] the second *caraṇa* as

'tābhyām anyatra yad dravyaṃ tatra svāmyaṃ kuṭumbinām.'

In view of the long and brilliant record of the last-named scholar as an editor of Sanskrit texts, the question of the king's ownership of the soil may be considered, in so far as the present passage is concerned, to be definitely set at rest. But let us admit for a moment the correctness of Dr. Jayaswal's reading *'sāmyam'* instead of *'svāmyam.'* Would the above passage still bear the sense attributed to it by Dr. Jayaswal? Our answer would depend upon the meaning of the terms *'pati'* and *'kuṭumbinām.'* We shall best discover this by considering the evidence of parallel passages, if any, and of the context. In the case of *'pati,'* we have already seen how Medhātithi renders *'adhipati'* in the verse of *Manusaṃhitā* (VIII 39) as *'prabhuḥ,'* 'lord' or 'master.' Another corroborative testimony is found in the *Mānasollāsa* attributed to King Someśvara (III) of the (Western) Cālukya dynasty, which has the following verses at the end of its chapter on *'nidhi'* (treasure trove):—

6 *Arthaśāstra* ed. Vol. I, p. 287.

samuddharen-nidhiṃ rājā nijādhyakṣapuraḥsaram /
evaṃ siddhyanti sarvāṇi nidhānāni na saṃśayaḥ / /
dhanānām-īśvaro rājā brahmaṇā parikalpitaḥ /,
bhūgatānāṃ viśeṣeṇa yato'sau vivudhādhipaḥ[6a] / /

Here, it will be observed, the king is declared to be the lord (*īśvara*) of all wealth, especially of that which is stored inside the earth. No ingenuity can twist this explicit testimony into a plea for the king's being merely the protector. As for the term '*kuṭumbin,*' it may be taken to mean a family member as Dr. Jayaswal has done, or else the head of a family. But the context in which the present passage is quoted by Bhaṭṭa-svāmin, namely the payment of irrigation dues by the subjects, would suggest the use of *kuṭumbināṃ* in the latter sense. If the above arguments were to be accepted as correct, the sense of the whole passage even with the reading (*sāmyam*) would be as follows:—

"The king is described by those who are learned in the *Śāstras* as the lord of the soil and water: the house-holders have the same (right of property) in all things other than these two."

Thus even assuming the correctness of Dr. Jayaswal's reading we have here an unequivocal declaration of the king's right of property in the soil.

III.

The third and the last passage which we propose to consider in the present place is a quotation from the *Rājanītiprakāśa* of Mitramiśra.[7] Let us quote the original extract:—

6a *Ibid.*, Vol. I. 2, 360-361, *G.O.S.*, XXVIII.

7 *Benares* ed., p. 271.

"Kātyāyanaḥ:—

'bhūsvāmī tu smṛto rājā nānyadravyasya sarvadā/
tatphalasya hi ṣaḍbhāgaṃ prāpnuyān-nānyathaiva tu//
bhūtānāṃ tannivāsitvāt svāmitvaṃ tena kīrttitam/
tatkriyābaliṣaḍbhāgaṃ śubhāśubhanimittajam' iti//

Asyārthaḥ/rāja bhuvaḥ svāmī smṛtaḥ/anyadravyasya bhūmisambaddhadravyasya na svāmī/anyathā bhūmisvāmyābhāve/bhūtānāṃ prāṇināṃ/tannivāsitvāt bhūnivāsitvāt/svāmitvaṃ rājña iti śeṣaḥ/ityataḥ tatkriyābaliṣaḍbhāgaṃ prāpnuyāt".

The plain meaning of the above passage is not far to seek. It contains a categorical affirmation of the doctrine of the king's ownership (*svāmitvam*) of the land (which it explains and justifies by his levy of 1/6th share of the produce thereof), and it proceeds to derive therefrom what may be called a theory of the king's constructive lordship over his subjects whence again arises the king's right of collecting the usual sixth. But let us see how Dr. Jayaswal understands this passage. His translation of it which betrays his useful ingenuity is as follows[9]:—

"When the king is called the *svāmin* (master) of the land and in no case of any other wealth, he only becomes entitled to receive the one-sixth share of the produce from it, not [that he is master] in any other way. The mastership which is connected with him is due to the habitation thereof by living beings and is the one-sixth share arising from their acts whether good or bad.

"Its meaning is [this]: king is called the *svāmin* of land, not of other wealth connected with land. 'Not in any other way' is [laid down] as there

8 The above corresponds to verses 16-17 of P. V. Kane's reconstructed *Kātyāyana* text, *Kātyāyanasmṛtisāroddhāra*, Bombay, 1933. These verses likewise occur in Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtyakalpataru* quoted in the *Rājanītiprakāśa* of Mitramiśra, Chowkhamba Skt. Series, p. 271.

9 *Op. cit.*, Pt. II, p. 179.

is want of mastership in land. 'Living beings' are those having life; 'habitation thereof' is habitation of the land; 'mastership,' that is, mastership of the king. Hence he can only receive one-sixth from their acts."

Now the above translation is open to the following objections:—

1. The word 'only' has nothing corresponding to it in the original text of Kātyāyana.
2. In Kātyāyana's verse above-quoted '*smṛtaḥ*' is evidently taken by Dr. Jayaswal to be in the subjunctive and '*prāpnuyāt*' in the present tense. This involves an unnecessary forcing of the sense.
3. Dr. Jayaswal evidently understands '*nānyathā*' in Kātyāyana to stand for something like '*nānyathā svāmī smṛtaḥ.*' But the natural connection of '*anyathā*' is with '*prāpnuyāt.*' Besides how can '*svāmī* be detached from the compound '*bhūsvāmī ?*
4. If the words '*anyathā bhūsvāmyābhāve*' in the commentary were meant to be understood in Dr. Jayaswal's sense, Mitramiśra would have added a corresponding verb like '*smṛtaḥ*' to explain his meaning (cf. his explanation of the phrase '*tatkriyā°*' in the same extract as '*tatkriyābaliṣaḍbhāgaṃ prāpnuyāt*') and '*bhūmisvāmya°*' would have had the fifth and not the seventh case-ending (*vibhakti*). As it stands, it can only be taken to signify the commentator's sense that '*anyathā*' means 'if the king were not the owner of the land.'[10]

10 We may quote here the high authority of P. V. Kane who translates (*Kātyāyana-smṛtisāroddhāra*, p. 121) the two verses of Kātyāyana quoted above as follows:—

'The king is declared to be the lord of land, but never of other

The result of the foregoing discussion would seem to show that three out of the texts quoted by Dr. Jayaswal to disprove the king's ownership of the land do not support his case, but prove just the contrary.[11] On the other hand the evidence of the Mīmāṃsā text (VI. 7. 3) which Dr. Jayaswal in the same context quotes[12] along with the commentaries thereon is no less decisive as to the denial of the king's proprietory right. There is nothing surprising in this contradiction. We have here evidently to deal with two distinct schools of legists, one advocating the king's right of ownership and the other based on the authoritative Mīmāṃsā as emphatically denying the same. The seeker of truth need not indulge in the hasty generalisation, doubtless prompted by political prejudices, that agricultural land in India has always belonged to the Crown, nor should he consider it a 'sacrilege' to be told that the theory of the king's ownership of the land was not altogether unknown to some schools of Hindu legal opinion.

kinds of wealth; therefore he should secure the sixth part of the fruits of land but not otherwise at all.'

'Since (human) beings reside on it (on land), their ownership thereof has been declared. The king's ownership is restricted to taking one-sixth as a tax, since the latter is dependent on good or evil portents (or natural phenomena and calamities of storms, rains, locusts, etc.).'

On this Kane comments as follows (*op. cit.*, p. 121 *n*):—'The idea underlying these verses seems to be that the king is the owner of all lands in the state.........The actual cultivators of the soil have only a qualified ownership of soil.'

11 The significance of these texts has been thoroughly discussed by the present writer in his work *The Agrarian System in Ancient India*, Calcutta, 1930, pp. 96 ff.

12 *Op. cit.*, Part II, p. 175 *n*.

ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SOME ADMINISTRATIVE TERMS AND TITLES

Bali

This is the oldest Indo-Aryan term for the king's revenue. In the *Ṛgveda* it is the exclusive designation of the Indo-Aryan king's receipts from his subjects as well as from conquered kings.[1] Zimmer, affirmed[2] that *bali* in the former sense was originally a voluntary offering on the part of the subjects, and that only in later times it assumed the character of compulsory payment or a tax. This explanation seems to have received some support from later German interpreters of the *Ṛgveda*. Grassmann,[3] has for *bali* the equivalents 'Geschenke' (present), 'Spende' (gift), as well as 'Abgabe' (tax or tribute), while he explains *balihṛt* as 'abgabeleistende' (tax-paying) and 'steuerpflichtig' (liable to taxation). Even Geldner[4] gives for *bali* the equivalent 'Spende' (gift) along with 'Tribut', 'Zoll' (toll) and 'Huldigung' (homage). On the other hand the authors of the *Vedic Index* hold[5] that there is no evidence in the *Ṛgveda* to support Zimmer's view. It is possible that *bali* was from the first of the nature of a customary contribution payable by the subjects, and not depending solely upon their free choice. In the *Brāhmaṇa* period *bali* had certainly assumed the character

1 For references, see U. N. Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, pp. 4-5.
2 *Altindisches Leben*, 166.
3 *Wörterbuch zum Ṛgveda*, s.v. *bali*.
4 *Der Rigveda in Auswahl, Erster Teil.*
5 s.v. *bali*.

of a tax, as is shown, *e.g.*, by the well-known passage of the *Ait. Br.*,[6] describing the Vaiśya as 'tributary to another, to be eaten by another, to be oppressed at will'. In later times when other items of taxation appear along with *bali*, the latter term seems to have been used in a wider as well as in a more restricted sense. As an example of the former kind may be mentioned that the standard lexicons[7] frequently identify the terms *bali*, *bhāga* (*-dheya*) and *kara*, as common designations of the tax on land. In its more restricted sense which is found specially in the *Arthaśāstra*, *bali* is clearly distinguished from these cognate terms. Thus *Arthaśāstra*[8] while enumerating the sevenfold 'body of income', mentions *bali*, *bhāga* and *kara* as distinct items included under the heading of *rāṣṭra* ('country-part'). Again, while describing the functions of the superintendent of agricutural store-house, the *Arthaśāstra*[9] distinguishes *bali*, *ṣaḍbhāga* and *kara* with other items as component parts of *rāṣṭra*. Even the *Manusaṃhitā*[10] distinguishes between *bali* and *kara*.

About the meaning of the term *bali* in this narrower sense there is some difference of opinion. By the commentators of the *Manusaṃhitā*, *bali* is explained in the passage just quoted as (the king's) sixth share of the produce and the like.[11] In other words *bali* is identified with *bhāga*. On the other hand the *Arthaśāstra* which, as we have seen, further distin-

6 VII. 29:—*anyasya balikṛt anyasyādyo yathākāmapyeyo.*

7 Cf. *Amara*, II, 8. 28; III. 3. 165; *Ibid.*, 196; *Śāśvata*, 36c, 626; *Vaijayantī*, I. 345.

8 II. 6.

9 II. 15.

10 VIII. 307:—*yo'rakṣan balimādatte karaṃ śulkaṃ ca pārthivaḥ/*
pratibhāgañca daṇḍañca sa sadyo narakaṃ vrajet//

11 *dhānyādeḥ ṣaḍbhāgaḥ* etc.

guishes *bali* from *bhāga*, has to discover for it an independent meaning. Thus Bhaṭṭasvāmin, commenting on one of the *Arthaśāstra* passages (II. 15), above referred to, explains *bali* as 'the tenth or the twentieth part as current in different tracts and in excess of the sixth share'.[12] Similarly, Kṣīrasvāmin in his commentary on *Amara*, II. 8, 28. quotes an *Arthaśāstra* text to the effect that *bali* as distinguished from *bhāga* and *kara* is the means of subsistence of the king's officials.[13] *Bali*, then, as used in the *Arthaśāstra*, is essentially of the nature of a petty cess over and above the king's normal share of the produce. In his commentary on the last-named passage from Kauṭilya (II. 15), Gaṇapati Śāstri further identifies it with the so-called begging receipts of the king.[14] Commenting on the other passage of Kauṭilya (II. 6), Gaṇapati Śāstri more explicitly defines *bali* as a present or a begging receipt.[15] The same meaning is adopted by J. J. Meyer, the German translator of the *Arthaśāstra*, who renders[16] *bali* in both the above passages as 'Spende' (gift), while he explains it to be a so-called voluntary gift or contribution to the royal or state treasury ('eine sogennante freiwillige Gabe oder Beisteuer an den Königlichen oder Staat-schatz'). It is supported by the authority of Hemacandra who in his *Anekārthasaṁgraha*[17] gives for *bali* the equivalents a present and the demon called by that name. It may also

12 *ṣaḍbhāgādanyo yathādeśaprasiddho daśaviṁśatibandhādikaḥ.*

13 *rājagrāhyaḥ ṣaḍbhāgādirbhāgaḥ pratyekaṃ sthāvarajaṅgamādi deyaḥ karaḥ niyojyopajīvyo baliḥ.*

14 *baliḥ ṣaḍbhāgātiriktaḥ yathādeśaprasiddho daśaviṁśatibandhādikaḥ yaṃ bhikṣābhaktaṃ vadanti.*

15 *upahāro bhikṣā vā.* 16 *Op. cit.*, 81, 138. 17 II. 489.

be connected with the original signification of the term in the *Ṛgveda.*[18]

If the above remarks be borne in mind, they may help us to fix with more precision than hitherto attained the meaning of at least one famous historical inscription containing these terms. Aśoka's Rummindei Inscription, as is well-known, closes with the words "*hida Bhagavam jāteti Lumminigāme ubalikekaṭe aṭha-bhāgiyeca.* Dr. F. W. Thomas,[19] who first conclusively proved the term *ubalikekaṭe* in this extract to mean 'free from *bali*', added that the latter term properly meant a religious cess. His explanation has generally been accepted by scholars, although it is noticeable that Hultzsch[20] translates it more freely as "*free of taxes.*" Now applying the signification of *bali* as just mentioned (which we are justified in doing in view of the fact that the inscription like the *Artha-śāstra* distinguishes between *bali* and *bhāga*), we should translate *ubalikekaṭe* as 'free from the additional cess.' The purport of the whole passage, then, would be that the village, in consideration of its being the birth-place of Buddha, had its rate

18 In connection with the two passages quoted above from Kauṭilya Shamasastry translates (*Arthaśāstra* tr., pp. 66, 112) *bali* as 'religious taxes' and as taxes that are levied for 'religious purposes.' This explanation is evidently based on the alternative meaning of the term as 'religious offering.' In two passages of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (II. 68 and III. 45) *Rājabali* actually figures in a list of five *balis* which is the Buddhist equivalent of the Brahmanical five daily sacrifices. Nevertheless there is nothing in the *Arthaśāstra* or its authoritative commentary, as Shamasastry himself recognises, to justify the above interpretation.

19 *J.R.AS.*, 1909, p. 467.

20 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, New edition by E. Hultzsch p. 165.

of land-revenue reduced by the Emperor to 1/8th, while the additional cess was abolished altogether.

Bhāga

The term *bhāgadugha* as applied to one of the king's *ratnins* ('Jewel-bearers') occurs a number of times in the *Yajus Saṁhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas*.[21] If Sāyaṇa's explanation of this term in connection with some of these passages[22] is to be believed, *bhāga* as the technical designation of a specific tax was already known at this period. But elsewhere[23] Sāyaṇa explains the same term in the sense of 'carver,' which shows the absence of a continuous traditional interpretation up to his own time. This, of course, has the result of leaving the meaning of the term in question an unsolved problem. In its technical sense as the designation of a specific tax on land (as distinguished from the more general sense in which, as we have seen above, it is identified with *bali* and *kara*), it occurs in the two *Arthaśāstra* passages to which we have referred above. *Arthaśāstra*, II. 6, mentions *bhāga* with *bali*, *kara*, etc., under the heading of *rāṣṭra*, while in II. 15, it includes 'one-sixth' (*ṣaḍbhāga*) with *bali*, *kara*, etc., under the same general heading. In this case *bhāga* undoubtedly means the king's customary share of the produce normally, though not universally, amounting to 1/6th. Bhaṭṭasvāmin, *e.g.*, commenting on the latter passage explains *ṣaḍbhāga* in the general sense of 'king's share' (*rājabhāga*) and adds

21 Cf. *Taitt. Saṃ.*, I. 8. 9. 2; *Taitt. Br.*, I. 7. 3. 5; II. 4. 8. 1; *Sat. Br.*, I. I. 2. 17; V. 3. I. 9, etc.

22 Cf. Sāyaṇa on *Taitt. Saṃ.* and *Taitt. Br.*, *loc. cit*:—*yo rājñaḥ prāpyaṁ ṣaṣṭhaṃ bhāgaṃ prajābhyo gṛhītvā rājñe dogdhi prayacchati sa bhāgadughaḥ.*

23 Cf. Sāyaṇa on *Śat Br.*, V. 3. I. 9.

that the term 'one-sixth' includes by implication other rates such as one-third and one-fourth prevailing in different tracts.[24] In addition to the above, *bhāga* seems to have been applied in the *Arthaśāstra* by a natural extension of meaning to other taxes of a similar nature.[25] Thus we have in *Arthaśāstra*, II. 24, the term *udakabhāga* meaning the water-tax paid by the cultivators of wet lands at varying rates. The use of the term *bhāga* in this connection has perhaps to be understood in the light of the well-known theory of the king's ownership of land and water that is expressed in a couplet quoted in Bhaṭṭasvāmin's commentary on the above.[26] Another example of the technical use of *bhāga* occurs in *Arthaśāstra*, II. 12, where we have the term *lavaṇabhāga* meaning the king's share of the salt which is levied from manufacturers apparently under a system of State licenses. Mention is made in the same connexion of the king's levy of one-sixth of imported salt and provision is made for the sale of the king's share.[27]

24 *Ṣaḍgrahaṇaṃ prāyikatvādanyeṣāmapi yathādeśaprasiddhānāṃ tṛtīyacaturthādibhāgānāmupalakṣaṇam*

25 *Rājagrāhyaḥ ṣaḍbhāgādiḥ.*

26 *rājā bhūmeḥ patirdṛṣṭaḥ śāstrajñairudakasya ca /*
tābhyāmanyattu yaddravyaṃ tatra svāmyaṃ kuṭumbinām /

27 Another sense in which *bhāga* seems to have been used in the *Arthaśāstra* is the portion of merchandise paid by merchants to the king. In II. 16 describing the duties of the Superintendent of merchandise with reference to the sale of merchandise in foreign lands, Kauṭilya says:—*paraviṣaye tu paṇyapratipaṇyayorardhamūlyaṃ cāgamayya śulkavartanyātivāhikagulmataradeyabhaktabhāgavyayaśuddhamudayaṃ paśyet //*. Here the reading *bhāga* is adopted both by Shamasastry and Jolly while Gaṇapati reads *bhāṭaka* instead. In another place, II. 35, we are told regarding the duties of merchant spies in respect of the sale of merchandise:—*śulkavartanyātivāhikagulmataradeyabhāgabhaktapaṇyāgārapramāṇaṃ vidyuḥ*. From the close simi-

Kara

As the designation of a fiscal term *kara* appears to have been unknown to the early Vedic literature. In the *Dharma-sūtras* it is already a familiar term, while it is of frequent occurrence in the Epics, the Smṛtis and the Purāṇas and the literature of Drama and *Kāvya*. In its general sense of a tax it is, as we have seen above, identified with *bali* and *bhāga* in the lexicons. The Jaina canonical literature similarly knows its use as the general designation of the tax on land as well as on movables.[28] The narrower application of the term *kara* as the designation of a specific tax occurs in the *Arthaśāstra* (II. 6, II. 15 and the *Manusaṁhitā* (VIII. 307) passages we have quoted above. The significance of *kara* in the last-named text is differently interpreted by different commentators, as is shown by the following examples:—*dravyādānaṃ* (Medhātithi), *bhūmi-niyataṃ deyaṃ hiraṇyaṃ* (Sarvajñanārāyaṇa), *gulmadāyādikaṃ* (Rāmacandra), *grāmapuravāsibhyaḥ pratimāsaṃ vā bhādrapauṣa-niyamena grāhyaṃ* (Kullūka), *grāmavāsibhyaḥ pratimāsikaṃ* (Rāghavānanda). The last two interpretations are very much in

larity of this passage with the one quoted immediately above, it seems clear that the word *bhāga* should be read in the former case as well. Now *bhāga* in the above passages is understood by Shamasastry (*Arthaśāstra* tr. pp. 120, 180) to mean 'the portion of merchandise payable to the foreign king' and 'one-sixth portion paid or payable by merchants,' while Meyer (*op. cit.*,) renders it as 'Königsanteil' (king's share).

28 The *Abhidhānarājendra*, *e.g.*, quotes a text mentioning no less than 16 kinds of *karas* of which *dravyakara* has eighteen specified sources (including *gokara mahiṣakara uṣṭrakara chagalīkara tṛṇakara patrāpakara kāṣṭhakara*), while it also mentions *kṣetrakara* in the sense of the different taxes of the nature of śulka and so forth that are levied upon fields (*yo yasmin kṣetre śulkādirūpo vicitro karaḥ sa kṣetre kṣetraviṣayaḥ karaḥ*).

accordance with Bhaṭṭasvāmin's explanation[29] of the term in his commentary on Kauṭilya, II. 15. With it may be connected the definition of *kara*,[30] in Kṣīrasvāmin's quotation of the *Artha-śāstra* text above cited. *Kara* thus appears to be of the nature of a periodical tax levied more or less universally on villagers. It is apparently this vague and unsatisfactory definition that has led modern interpreters of the *Arthaśāstra* to attempt a more precise analysis of its meaning. Thus in connexion with the two *Arthaśāstra* passages above-mentioned, Shamasastry translates it in one place as 'taxes paid in money' and elsewhere as 'taxes or subsidies that are paid by vassal kings and others.'[31] In his German translation of the *Arthaśāstra*[32] Meyer, while rendering it on the authority of Bhaṭṭasvāmin as 'Jahressteuer' (annual tax), thinks Shamasastry's first explanation to be possibly correct, while he also suggests for it the equivalent 'Bodensteuer' (ground-tax). Gaṇapati Śāstrī, on the other hand, in his *Arthaśāstra* commentary explains *kara* in the above passages as a tax levied in respect of fruit trees.[33] Of all these explanations it may be said that they are not authenticated by independent evidence.

The Girnar Rock Inscription of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman dated *c.* 152 A.C. shows *kara* in use as a distinct source of revenue at this period and throws some light upon its nature. There it is said of the Great Satrap that he met the expenses of construction of the dam of the Sudarśana lake out of his own

29 *karaḥ prativarṣadeyaḥ Bhādrapadikavāsantikādyapādānam.*

30 *pratyekaṃ sthāvarajaṅgamādideyaḥ karaḥ.*

31 *Arthaśāstra*, tr., pp. 66 and 112.

32 II. 81 and *n*.

33 *phalavṛkṣādi-sambaddhaṃ rājadeyaṃ.*

purse and without oppressing his subjects by means of *kara, viṣṭi,* and *praṇaya.*[34] From this it would seem that *kara* was held like *viṣṭi* and *praṇaya* to be an oppressive tax.

Śulka

Perhaps the earliest mention of *śulka* as a tax occurs in the *Atharvaveda* where we have in one place[35] the verse:—

yo dadāti śitipādamaviṃ lokena saṃmitam /
sa nākamabhyārohati yatra śulko na kriyate abalena balīyase //

In the above the reading *śulka* adopted by the editor Mr. S. P. Pandit[36] is based upon the evidence of all the manuscripts and oral reciters of the Veda that were available to him. It has been followed by Whitney and Lanman in their translation of the *A.V.*[37] In the *Dharmasūtras śulka* is a familiar fiscal term.[38] Pāṇini[39] provides for the formation of words from *śulka*, and the term occurs in the *gaṇa ardharccādi.*[40] Like *bali* and *bhāga, śulka* has a non-technical as well as a narrower technical sense. As an instance of the former kind may be mentioned the definition in the *Kāśikā* on the above *sūtra* of Pāṇini viz. *rakṣānirveśo rājabhāgaḥ śulkaḥ,* which the *Bālamanoramā* further explains as *rakṣā tadarthe nirveśo bhṛtiḥ rakṣānirveśaḥ* and the *Padamañjarī* explains similarly as *nirveśo bhṛtiḥ rakṣānimittako nirveśo rakṣādinirveśaḥ.* According to this

34 *apīḍayitvā karaviṣṭipraṇayakriyābhiḥ paurajānapadaṃ janaṃ svasmāt kośān-mahatā dhanaughena.* See *Ep. Ind.* VIII. p. 44.

35 III. 29. 3.

36 Vol. II. p. 496.

37 Vol. I. p. 136.

38 Cf. *Gaut.* X. 25; *Āpast.,* II. 26. 9; *Vas.,* XIX. 37.

39 V. I. 47: *tadasmin vṛddhyāyalābhaśulkopadā dīyate*

40 II. 4. 31.

interpretation *śulka* is a general designation for tax. The narrower technical sense of *śulka* is illustrated in the standard lexicons[41] which uniformly render *śulka* as 'what is payable at the ferries' etc., *ghaṭṭādideya*. What other items are included in the expression etc. (*ādi*) will best appear from Kṣīrasvāmin's commentary on the above-mentioned passage of *Amara:—ghaṭṭo nadītarasthānamādiśabdāt gulmapratolyādau prāveśyanaiṣkramyadravyebhyo rājagrāhyaḥ bhāgaḥ śulkaḥ*. *Śulka*, then, comprises the ferry-duties, the tolls paid at the military or police stations and the transit duties that were paid by merchants. The corresponding Pali term *suṅka* occurs in the same general sense of tolls, duties and customs.[42] The commentators of the *Manusaṃhitā* on the passage above cited[43] likewise explain *śulka* in the general sense of duties paid by merchants. This is shown by the following examples:—*śulkaṃ vaṇikprāpyabhāgaṃ* (Medhātithi); *śulkaṃ sthalajalapathādinā vāṇijyakāribhyo niyatasthāneṣu dravyānusāre grāhyaṃ dānamiti prasiddhaṃ śulkaṃ tarādideyaṃ* (Sarvajñanārāyaṇa), *śulkaṃ vaṇigāderhaṭṭaghaṭṭādiniyatasthāneṣu dravyānusāreṇa yad grāhyaṃ* (Rāghavānanda); *śulkaṃ pathikairvaṇigādibhirdeyaṃ* (Nandana). A somewhat more restricted application of the term *śulka* occurs in the *Arthaśāstra*. In one place[44] *śulka* heads the list of items constituting the "*durga*" (the fortified town), while *vaṇik, nadipāla, tara, vartanī* and other items are included under the heading of *rāṣṭra* (the country-part). In the two *Arthaśāstra* passages[45] that we have referred to above

41 Cf. *Amara* II. 8. 27; *Anekārthasaṃgraha*, II. 19 etc.

42 For references, see P. T. S. Dictionary, *s.v. suṅka.*

43 VIII. 307. 44 II. 6. 45 II. 16; II. 35.

śulka is distinguished from *gulmadeya* and *taradeya* as well as *vartanī*. *Śulka*, then, is specifically the tax levied on merchants inside the fortified town and is distinct from the ferry-duties, etc., that are levied in the country-part. It is in strict conformity with this view that Kauṭilya elsewhere[46] lays down rules for the collection of *śulka* by the superintendent of tolls at the toll-house situated near the main gate of the town. But *śulka* could also be collected at the ports, for in another chapter dealing with the duties of the superintendent of ships (*nāvadhyakṣa*) we are told[47] that merchants should pay their share of the toll in accordance with the usage of the ports. In the same chapter Kauṭilya says[48] that at frontier-stations ferrymen should collect tolls, charges for carriage and road-cess. This shows that *śulka* could be levied at the frontier-stations as well.

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Mahādaṇḍanāyaka

Among the official titles first brought into vogue in the early centuries of the Christian era is the term *mahādaṇḍanāyaka*. This title was well-known to the Mathurā region in the reigns of the Kushan Kings in the second and third centuries of the Christian era.[1] A similar title, viz. *mahāsenāpati*, was known to Western India about the same time under the rule of the Sātavāhana Kings.[2] The title *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* was

46 II. 21. 47 II. 28: *pattanānuvṛttam śulkabhāgam vaṇijo dadyuḥ*.
48 *pratyanteṣu tarāḥ śulkamātivāhikam vartanīñca gṛhṇīyuḥ*

1 Cf. Mat inscription of Huvishka. *Ep. Ind;* Mathurā Inscr. of the year 74 of the *mahārāya rājātirāja devaputra Vāsu*.........*Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 242; Ganeshra Pedestal Inscr., *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 206.

2 For *Mahāsenāpati* see Nasik Cave Inscr. of Vaśiṣṭhiputra Pulumāyi;

known to the Telugu country during the rule of the Ikṣvāku Kings about the third century A.D.[3] In the Gupta period *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* was a familiar title in the Eastern, Southern as well as Northern provinces of the Empire.[4] Another official title, namely *mahābalādhikṛta,* was also in vogue in the same regions in Gupta times.[5]

What, then, is the significance of the office of *mahādaṇḍa-nāyaka?* The term has been variously translated as 'a military title' (Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 10. *n.*), judge (Bloch, *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1903-4, p. 109), 'chief officer of police' (Marshall, *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1911-12, p. 54), 'prefect of police' (Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba*, Pt. 1, p. 23), 'a high, probably judicial, officer' (Vogel, *Ep. Ind.* XX. p. 32), and 'a great general' (Lüders, *Ep. Ind.* IX. p. 242 and XXIV, p.206). Less divergence of opinion has been expressed in translating the simple term *daṇḍa-nāyaka* which occurs in inscriptions of the Gupta period and later. This last has been translated as 'an officer of police' (Marshall, *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1911-12, p. 55; D. R. Bhandarkar,

for *mahāsenāpati* along with its feminine form see Nāsik Inscr. of Gautami-putra Sātakarṇi. (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 67, 94).

3 See *Prākrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist site at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* by J. Ph. Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX. p. 18.

4 The title occurs e.g. in the Kanākhera (Bhopal State) inscriptions of 241 Śaka (?) i.e. 319 A.D. (?) (*JPASB.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 343 ff.; Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta (Fleet, *Gupta Inscr.* pp. 6 ff.) as well as Bhiṭā and Basārh Seals (Marshall's *List of Bhiṭā sealings* No. 43 in *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.* 1911-12 p. 54; Bloch's *List of Basarh Seals,* No. 17 in *Ann. Rep. A.S.I.*, 1903-4, p. 109).

5 For this title cf. Karamdāṇḍā (Fyzabad district) Inscr. of the reign of Kumāragupta I dated GE. 117; Majhgawan (Central India) plates of Mahā-rāja Hastin dated G.E. 191, Sohaval plates of Mahārāja Sarvanātha dated K.E. 191 and Nālandā plate of Samudragupta.

Ann. Rep. A.S.I., 1914-15, p. 82), 'a judge' (N. G. Majumdār, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 185) and 'a magistrate' (R. G. Basak, *Ep. Ind.*, XII. p. 43).

In considering these different interpretations we may begin by observing that *daṇḍa* may etymologically refer both to a military and a judicial office, for it means 'the army' as also 'the rod of punishment'. In conformity with this double derivation is the two-fold meaning of *daṇḍanāyaka* in the St. Petersburg Lexicon *s.v*, viz. (1) 'Richter' (2) 'Anführer einer Heeressäule, einer Kolonne'. On the other hand, it may be pointed out that apart from the great Jaina lexicon which understands the term in an impersonal sense,[6] nearly all other lexicons[7] take *daṇḍa-nāyaka* in the technical sense of *senānī* ('commander'). The title *daṇḍamukhya* which is no doubt a synonym for *daṇḍa-nāyaka* is taken in Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra* (XVIII. 49), a work usually ascribed to the Gupta period, in the sense of 'a general'. The *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, which belongs to the late Gupta period, brackets (71. 4) *senāpati* and *daṇḍanāyaka* together. This suggests that both refer to the military command. We shall, therefore, not be far wrong if we conclude that *mahādaṇḍanāyaka* of the Kushan, Andhra, Ikṣvāku and Gupta inscriptions means 'commander-in-chief'. In what relation this officer stood to the *mahābalādhikṛta* and *mahāsenāpati* mentioned side by side in a few records of the same period, it is unfortunately not possible in the present state of our knowledge to explain.

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6 The text is:—*tantrapālake rāṣṭrarakṣake bhūpāle svarāṣṭracintākartari.*

7 Cf. *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, II. 9; *Kalpadrukośa*, I. 6; V. 17.

Kumārāmātya

Of the administrative terms met with for the first time in the records of the Gupta Emperors, that of *Kumārāmātya* is one of the most important. It has been usually interpreted to mean 'minister of the Crown-Prince,'[1] although there has been forthcoming[2] another explanation of it as 'one who has been in the service of the king from the time when he was a boy.' Both these explanations are etymologically correct, the former evidently taking the term to be a *tatpuruṣa* compound, while the latter is supported by the parallel form *kumārādhyāpaka* meaning 'a teacher while still a youth.'[2a] The former explanation, however, is not only more natural, but is historically the only correct one, as the title *rāyāmāca* (Skt. *rājāmātya*) is found already in the records of the Sātavāhana period in Western India.[3] But whatever the etymological or historical origin of the term might have been, its true import in the Gupta administrative system can only be understood in the light of the context in which it occurs in the documents of this period. In the Allahabad pillar inscription of

1 Cf. Fleet, *CII.*, III, p. 16 *n.* ('Councillor of the Crown-Prince'); Bloch, *ASR.*, 1903-4, p. 103, ('Prince's Minister'); Marshall, *ASR.*, 1911-12, p. 52, ('Councillor of the heir-apparent'); Beni Prasad, *The State in Ancient India*, p. 296, ('minister of the Prince-viceroy'); Hirananda Sastri, *Nālandā and its epigraphic material*, Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 66, p. 35 ('the prince's or heir-apparent's minister'). Altogether improbable is Dr. Bhandarkar's tr. (*EI*, XI, p. 176 *n*) as 'the princes, the noble lords.'

2 Bloch in *EI.*, X, p. 50.

2a See Monier-Williams's *Dict. s.v.*

3 Cf. the Nasik Cave inscription (*EI.*, VIII, 8, No. 19) recording a donation by the daughter of a *rāyāmāca*.

Samudragupta[4] the *praśasti* is said to have been composed by Hariṣeṇa, the *sāndhivigrahika, kumārāmātya* and *mahādaṇḍanāyaka,* who was a servant of the Emperor and whose intellect had been awakened by constant attendance on His Majesty. Another inscription[5] records a gift by a *mantri-kumārāmātya,* who afterwards became also a *mahābalādhikṛta* and who was the son of a *mantri-kumārāmātya* of Candragupta II. In these cases evidently the *kumārāmātya* was an officer of the Crown (not 'a Councillor of the Crown-Prince'), and the examples show how he could rise to the high offices of Foreign minister, Commander-in-Chief and State Councillor. We might suppose that like the *amātya* of the *Arthaśāstra* and the 'caste of councillors and assessors' described by Megasthenes, though not to the same extent, the *kumārāmātya* of the Gupta period was the title of a generic class of officials, out of whom were selected the high officers of State.[6]

Another aspect of the *kumārāmātya's* functions is shown by the evidence of the copperplate inscriptions of the Gupta Emperors in North Bengal and the clay-seals of the same period that have been discovered on the site of ancient Vaiśālī in North Bihar. The Dāmodarpur plates Nos. I and II belonging to the reign of Kumāragupta I, and bearing dates corresponding to 443-444 and 449-50 A.D. refer themselves to a time when the *uparika Mahārāja* Jayadatta was governing the province

4 Fleet, *CII.*, III, No. I. The words in the original are *etac-ca kāvyam eṣāmeva bhaṭṭārakapādānām dāsasya samīpa-parisarppan-anugrah-onmilita-mateḥ—sāndhivigrahika-kumārāmātya-mahādaṇḍanāyaka-Hariṣenasya.*

5 *EI.*, X, 15.

6 This explanation has been tacitly accepted in the *History of Bengal,* Vol. I. recently published by the University of Dacca, p. 284.

(*bhukti*) of Puṇḍravardhana and the *kumārāmātya* Vetravarman appointed by him was administering the office of the District headquarters in the Koṭīvarṣa District (*viṣaya*). Two other records of the same group, Nos. IV and V, belonging to the reigns of Budhagupta and Bhānu(?)gupta show that in their time, while the Puṇḍravardhana province was governed by an *uparika mahārāja*, the administration of the Koṭīvarṣa district was carried on by a *viṣayapati* and an *āyuktaka* respectively.[7] It thus appears that in the province of North Bengal the *kumārāmātya* was carrying on those functions which were afterwards entrusted to the *viṣayapati* and should indeed have been normally reserved for the latter, namely that of administering the district in subordination to the provincial governor.

The evidence of the Basārh seals belonging to the same period shows that in the neighbouring province of Tīrabhukti, the *kumārāmātya* was likewise entrusted with the district administration in subordination to the provincial governor called *uparika*. Thus in Bloch's descriptive list of these seals,[8] No. 20 (represented by two specimens) reads:—

'*Tīrabhukty-uparik-ādhikaraṇasya*'

while No. 22 (of which there are six specimens) reads:—

'*Tīra-kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇa*'.

On the analogy of the Dāmodarpur plates Nos. I and II abovementioned, we may take them to refer respectively to the *uparika* in charge of the Tīrabhukti province and the *kumārāmātya* stationed at the district headquarters called Tīra. Of a

7 See *EI.*, XV, No. 7 for reference.
8 *ASR.*, 1903-4, p. 109.

somewhat peculiar character is the seal No. 200 in Spooner's descriptive list of clay seals discovered by him subsequently at Basārh.[9] On it are written in characters of the 4th or 5th century A.D. the words:—

Vaiśālī-nāma kuṇḍe kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇasya.

This may be translated as 'of the office of the *kumārāmātya* at the Kuṇḍa called Vaiśālī', but of the place indicated by the phrase *Vaiśālīnāma-kuṇḍa* we cannot form any idea.[9a]

We may now proceed to consider the significance of the legends on certain other seals found by Bloch in the course of excavations at Basārh. In Bloch's classified list to which reference has been made above, Nos. 4, 5 and probably 9 bear the legend:—

'Yuvarāja--pādīya-kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇa',

and Nos. 6 and 7 have—

'Śrī-yuvarājā-bhaṭṭāraka-pādīya-kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇasya'

while No. 8 reads—

'Śrī-paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādīya-kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇa.'[10]

These legends were translated by Bloch respectively as follows:—

9 *ASR.*, 1913-14, p. 134

9a Among the clay seals discovered at *Nālandā* which belong to a somewhat later period, there are a few with the legends *Magadhabhuktau kumārāmātyādhikaraṇasya* and *Nagara-bhuktau kumārāmātyādhikaraṇasya* (Hirananda Sastri, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-3). In the light of the Basārh seal legends just mentioned, it seems natural to refer the above to the office of the district headquarters of the provinces concerned, the office of the provincial governor being left out. Hirananda Sastri's tr. of *adhikaraṇa* as 'court' (*op. cit.*, p. 35) is too narrow.

10 *Op. cit.*, pp. 107-8.

'His Highness, the Yuvarāja, the Chief of Princes' Ministers,' '(Seal) of His Highness, the illustrious Yuvarāja and Bhaṭṭāraka, the Chief of Princes' Ministers' and 'His Highness, the illustrious Paramabhaṭṭāraka, the Chief of Princes' Ministers.' These versions are contrary to the rules of grammatical construction and the accepted meanings of the terms in question. *Adhikaraṇa* is a well-known term meaning a court of justice or an office and is not synonymous with *adhikṛta*, *Yuvarāja* and *bhaṭṭāraka* are not two independent words, but evidently refer to one and the same personage. *Yuvarāja-pādīya* and *paramabhaṭṭāraka pādīya* are not nouns in the nominative case, but adjectival formations. Another explanation of the three legends above-mentioned has been presented by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji in his work, *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*. He takes '*pāda*' (in the singular) to mean 'equal to' and *Yuvarāja-bhaṭṭāraka* to signify 'the real heir-apparent' as distinguished from the *Yuvarājas* who were 'the younger princes of the royal family.' From this he concludes that 'some of the *kumārāmātyas* were held to be equal in rank to the princes of the blood-royal' and others were held to be 'equal to the heir of the Emperor,' while others again were 'equal in rank to His Majesty the Emperor.'[10a] This explanation is open to the following objections:—

(1) The termination *pādāḥ* (in the plural) is a well-known honorific designation added to the names or titles of persons. No authority has been cited to illustrate the use of *pāda* (in the singular) in the sense

10a R. D. Banerji, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-4.

of '*kalpa*' which by the way means 'a little less than' and not 'equal to,' as understood by Mr. Banerji.

(2) Even if we could understand the termination *pāda* in Mr. Banerji's sense, the compound *Yuvarāja-pādiya-kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇa* cannot mean '(Of) the office of the *kumārāmātya* equal in rank to the Yuvarāja,' for the affix *chha* (*īya*) has always a possessive sense.

(3) The distinction drawn between *Yuvarāja* and *Yuvarāja-bhaṭṭāraka* has not the slightest evidence in its favour. *Yuvarāja* by itself, always means the 'Crown-Prince.' It is natural to take *Yuvarāja-bhaṭṭāraka,* 'the lord, the Crown-Prince', as an expanded form of the simple term *Yuvarāja.*

(4) The conclusion to which Mr. Banerji's arguments lead him, namely that certain *Kumārāmātyas* were equal in rank even to the Emperor—a fact which he himself admits to be unparalleled in the history of ancient or modern times—is enough to prove the untenableness of his interpretation.

What then, is the meaning of the three seal-legends that we are now considering? Probably the clue is furnished by the inscription on one of the seals discovered by Sir John Marshall at Bhīṭā in 1911-12,[11] which reads:—

Mahāśvapati-mahādaṇḍanāyaka-Viṣṇurakṣita-pādānudhyāta-kūmārāmāty-ādhikaraṇasya.

11 *ASR.,* 1911-12, p. 52.

The term *pādānudhyāta* is regularly used in the Ancient Indian inscriptions to indicate the relation of a feudatory or an official to his suzerain, or that of a son or younger brother to his superior.[12] As in this case the first sense is out of the question and the second is improbable, we have to apply the last meaning. Thus the whole inscription would probably mean that the *kumārāmātya* in question was the son of Viṣṇurakṣita, the Chief Cavalry Officer and Commander-in-chief. Evidently the *kumārāmātya* thought his office to be so unimportant that he preferred to be known even in his official capacity by his relationship to his father who held a distinguished position. If this argument has any weight, it follows that the legends *Yuvarāja-pādīya-kumārāmaty-ādhikaraṇa* and the like on the Basarh seals refer similarly to the *kumārāmātyas* who were related probably as sons to the Crown-Prince and the Emperor.

A few references in the inscriptions of the sixth and seventh centuries enable us to trace the application of the term *kumārāmātya* in the period of decline and fall of the Gupta Empire. The Amauna plate of the Mahārāja Nandana of 232 G.E. (551-2 A.D.)[13] introduces us to a prince who styles himself *deva-guru-pādānudhyāta-kumārāmātya*. The omission of all references to the name of the paramount sovereign shows that in the find-spot of the inscription (comprised within the modern Gaya district) he reigned practically as an independent sovereign, while his use of the well-known official designation of the Gupta period probably shows that like the Nawab Viziers of Oudh during the decline of the Mughal Empire, he retained

12 Cf. Fleet, *CII.*, III, p. 17 *n*². 13 *EI.*, X, 12.

the official title which had belonged to his ancestors under the Gupta Emperors. More significant, still, is the evidence of the record of Lokanātha, who reigned in East Bengal in the latter half of the seventh century A.D. probably as a feudatory of the later Guptas.[14] In this case the seal attached to the copper-plate bears in characters of the Gupta period the legend—

kumārāmāty-ādhikaraṇasya

while alongside is written in characters of the seventh century—

Lokanāthasya.

Probably the explanation is to be found in the fact that the ancestors of Lokanātha had served as *Kumārāmātyas* under the Gupta Emperors and that long afterwards when their descendants assumed practical independence they continued to use not only the title, but even the identical seals of the earlier period.

* * * * * * * *

Khola, Mahākaṭuka, Khaṇḍapāla-Khaṇḍarakṣa

Among the titles of administrative officers occurring in the land grants of the Pāla kings and their eastern contemporaries, we find three very rare terms, *Khaṇḍapāla* (and its equivalent *Khaṇḍarakṣa*), *Khola* and *Mahākaṭuka*. They are found conjoined only in one inscription, namely the Rāmgañj plate of the Mahāmāṇḍalika Īśvaraghoṣa.[1] The term *Khaṇḍarakṣa* occurs by itself in three Eastern inscriptions of this period, namely, Nālandā grant of Devapāla,[2] Monghyr grant of Devapāla[3] and

14 *EI.*, XV, 19.

1 *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, ed. N. G. Majumdar, pp. 149 ff.

2 Ed Hirananda Sastri, *EI.*, XVII 3 Ed. L. D. Barnett, *Ibid.*, XVIII.

Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla,[4] while *Khaṇḍapāla* occurs similarly in the Panchobh grant of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Mahāmāṇḍalika Saṅgrāmagupta.[5] Of the two other titles *Khola* occurs alone in the Khālimpur grant of Dharmapāla[6] and *Mahākaṭuka* in the Panchobh grant abovementioned. Evidently because of the extreme obscurity of these terms, their meaning has been left unexplained by the editors of the above grants. No more success has attended the efforts of some recent scholars who have undertaken a systematic survey of Pāla and Sena administration,[7] for they have either left the terms without any explanation or else offered suggestions which lack any confirmation.

The clue to the proper identification of these terms has to be sought, as in many other instances of the same kind, in the Jaina canonical and post-canonical literature. To begin with *Khola*, it is included in a list of *Deśī* words in Hemacandra's

4 Ed. E. Hultzsch, *IA.*, xv

5 Ed. J. N. Sikdar and Amareswar Thakur, *JBORS.*, v, pp. 582 ff The Antirigam Plate of Jayabhañjadeva (*EI.*, XIX, pp. 41 ff.) has in the concluding phrase of its list of administrative officers *Khaṇḍapāla-Purañjaya-saraḥ* on which Dr. Hirananda Sastri (*Ibid.*, p. 44 *n*) writes, "Read °*śurān*, the adjective *kīrtitān* being in the plural; the mention of only two heroes *Khaṇḍapāla* and *Purañjaya* must be taken to include other heroes." But apart from the grammatical difficulty hinted at by Dr. Sastri, the form of the immediately preceding phrase *Vīrbhañjadevaḥ-akṣapatali-vajradatta-sandhivigrahi-punnāga-pratihāra-bhojapāla-rāṇaka* etc." would seem to require a reading like *khaṇḍapāla-purañjaya-puraḥsarān* in place of *khaṇḍapāla-purañjayasaraḥ*. If so, we have here a fourth instance of the title *khaṇḍapāla* in an Eastern grant.

6 Ed. F. Kielhorn, *EI.*, IV.

7 Cf. Dr. R. G. Basak, in the Bengali *Pravāsī*, Āśvin, 1343 and Mr. Promode Lal Paul in *Dacca University Studies*, Vol. II, No. 1.

8 No. 2, 80.

Deśīnāmamālā. But none of his synonyms *Laghugardabha* and *Vastraikadeśa* suits our present context. On the other hand a welcome light is offered by the Jaina lexicons. The great Jaina lexicon *Abhidhāna-Rājendra* gives among the synonyms of *Khola* "*Rājapuruṣa*", while the handy *Ardha-Magadhī Dictionary* of Muni Śrī Ratnacandraji more specially mentions the sense of *guptacara* or spy. Either of these senses would admirably suit our present requirement, for in the list of officers in the two inscriptions concerned *Khola* is immediately preceded and followed by a number of minor administrative titles:—

dūta-khola-gamāgamika-abhitvaramāṇa (Khālimpur grant)
khola-dūta-gamāgamika-lekhaka-dūtapraiṣaṇika (Rāmgañj grant)

The term *Kaṭuka* is derived from Sanskrit *Kaṭu* under the rule *svārthe-kan.* But this etymology does not help to throw light upon its technical significance. It occurs twice in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita,*[9] meaning according to the commentator Śaṅkara, *Hastipakayoktrā* ('elephant-rider') in one case, and in the other in the double sense of *Tīkṣṇa* and *Pratīhāra.*[10] Leaving aside the first two senses which are quite inapplicable in the case of our inscriptions, it may be doubted whether the technical administrative significance of the term has been correctly found by the commentator. The second passage from the *Harṣacarita* reads: *kaphavikāriṇa iva dine dine kaṭukairūdvejyamānasya* which Cowell and Thomas following the commentator translate[11] as 'like a phlegmatic patient he is daily worried by acrid

9 Bombay edition, 1892, pp. 228 and 250.
10 Cf. F. W. Thomas, 'Two lists of words from Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita,*' *JRAS.*, 1899, p. 510.
11 *Harṣacarita,* tr. p. 221.

doorkeepers.' From all that we know of the chamberlain's duties it is extremely doubtful whether he may be taken as the type of a vexatious official, such as was evidently the author's intention. Here again the clue is found in the valuable Jaina literature. The *Abhidhāna-Rājendra*, quoting from the *Cūrṇī* of *Niśīthasūtra*, gives for *Kaḍuga* (evidently the Prakrit form of Sanskrit *Kaṭuka*) a synonym *Daṇḍaparicchedakārin* which may be translated as 'one who measures (proportionately deals out?) punishment.' This may mean an officer entrusted with the administration of criminal justice, or more probably one charged with punishment of criminals. It is evident that an officer of this type has so many opportunities for misuse of his powers as to make his name a by-word for oppression in the olden times. This has apparently been done by Bāṇa in the passage above mentioned. With this explanation in mind we may offer a plausible interpretation of the term *Mahākaṭuka* of the land-grants. The Rāmgañj inscription has been assigned on palaeographical grounds to the eleventh century,[12] and the Panchobh Grant to the latter part of the 12th cenury.[13] It may be suggested that in Eastern India by the 11th and 12th centuries the order of *Kaṭukas* had been organised with a chief at its head, or more probably the *Kaṭuka* himself had been raised with a higher designation to the status of other first class officers. It is at any rate significant that both in the Rāmgañj and the Panchobh grants *Mahākaṭuka* occurs in juxtaposition with a number of more or

12 N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
13 R. D. Banerji, *JBORS.*, v, p. 586.

less well-known high dignitaries with the same prefix added to their names:—

mahāsandhivigrahika, mahāpratihāra, mahākaraṇādhyakṣa, mahāmudrādhikṛta, mahākṣapaṭalika, mahāsarvvādhikṛta, mahāsenāpati, mahāpādamūlika, mahābhogapati, mahātantrādhikṛta, mahāvyūhapati, mahādaṇḍanāyaka, mahākāyastha, mahābalakoṣṭhika, mahābalādhikaraṇika, mahāsāmanta, mahābhaṭuka (Rāmgañj grant).

mahāsādhanika, mahākṣapaṭalika, mahāpratihāra, mahādharmādhikaraṇika, mahābalādhyakṣa,.....mahākaṭuka, mahautthitāsanika, mahādaṇḍanāyaka, mahādāṇḍika (Panchobh grant).

We now turn to the term *Khaṇḍapāla* and its equivalent *Khaṇḍarakṣa*. This term has been tentatively translated as 'Superintendent of repairs'[14] and as 'Superintendent of municipal wards.'[15] These explanations evidently rest upon the supposed etymological significance of the base *-khaṇḍa,* for which however we are furnished with no independent authority. Here again the valuable Jaina literary evidence comes to our rescue. The *Ardha-Māgadhī Dictionary* has under the caption *khaṇḍarakkha* the Hindi synonyms *dāṇī* ('Customs-Inspector') and *Kotvāl* ('Head of Police'). With this is identical the explanation in the great Jaina lexicon which gives for the same term the synonyms *dāṇḍapāśika* and *śulkapāla.* The latter explanation is also given by Leumann in his edition of the *Aupapātikasūtra.*[16] Though these authoritative explanations may be

14 N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, App. x, p. 184; to the same effect R. G. Basak, *loc. cit.*, who compares his functions with those of a P. W. D. engineer.

15 J. N. Sikdar and Amareswar Thakur, *op. cit.*, 593.

16 *Das Aupapātikasūtra, erstes upāṅga der Jaina,* I Teil, glossar.

accepted as correct, it is difficult to understand their connection with the root-word *khaṇḍa*, for which the *Deśīnāmamālā* (II, 78) gives the synonyms *muṇḍa* and *madyabhāṇḍa*, none of which is applicable here. What is still more to the point, a different sense is required for *khaṇḍapāla-khaṇḍarakṣa* in the inscriptions under notice, for there we have *dāṇḍika, dāṇḍapāśika* and *śaulkika* mentioned alongside *khaṇḍarakṣa* and *khaṇḍapāla*.[17] Let us try to find out whether any clue is afforded by the juxtaposition of the title in the inscriptions concerned.[18] This is as follows:—

cauraddharaṇika - dāṇḍika - dāṇḍapāśika - śaulkika - gaulmika - kṣetrapa - prāntapāla - koṭṭapāla - khaṇḍarakṣa - tadāyuktaka - viniyuktaka - hastyaśvoṣṭranaubalavyāpṛtaka - kiśoravaḍavāgomahiṣājāvikādhyakṣa.

In the above, the titles evidently have been arranged in a number of closely-related groups. *Cauroddharaṇika, dāṇḍika* and *dāṇḍapāśika* belong to the class of police officers, *śaulkika* and *gaulmika* to that of customs officers, *prāntapāla* and *koṭṭapāla* along with *hastyaśvoṣṭranaubalavyāpṛtaka* to the group of military officers, *kiśoravaḍavāgomahiṣājāvikādhyaksa* to the class of officers in charge of State herds. What then is the significance of *Khaṇḍarakṣa*? We suggest that it should be taken to belong to the group *prāntapāla* ('Warden of the Marches') and *koṭṭapāla* ('Officer in charge of the fortress or fortified city'). This is supported by the context of the term *khaṇḍapāla* in the

17 Cf. also Chamba Inscriptions No. 15 and 26 in Vogel, *Antiquities of the Chamba State*, pp. 166 and 199.

18 Monghyr, Bhagalpur, and Nālandā Grants.

R ā m g a ñ j grant: —*autthitāsanika-antaḥpratihāradaṇḍapāla-khaṇḍapāla-duḥsādhyasādhanika* etc.

Here the immediately preceding term *daṇḍapāla* evidently stands for *daṇḍanāyaka*, which according to the standard lexicons,[19] means *senānī* or commander. We may mention in this connection the significant fact that in the other land-grants of the Pālas,[20] the term *aṅgarakṣa* (evidently a military title) occurs in place of *khaṇḍarakṣa* of the Monghyr, Bhagalpur and Nālandā grants: —*prāntapāla-koṭṭapāla-aṅgarakṣa-tadāyuktaka-viniyuktaka* etc. It follows from the above that *khaṇḍarakṣa-khaṇḍapāla* is a military office of nearly the same status as *prāntapāla* and *koṭṭapāla*.

19 *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, II, 9; *Kalpadrukoṣa*, 16, 17.

20 Bāṇgaṛh grant of Mahīpāla I and Manahali grant of Madanapāla.

THE MINERAL WEALTH OF ANCIENT BENGAL

The tract of country now known as Bengal was famous even in ancient times as a well-watered land rich in fruits and crops. In the second quarter of the seventh century A.D., when the celebrated Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited India, he was charmed with the wealth of crops, fruits and flowers in the three provinces of Puṇḍravardhana, Tāmralipti and Karṇasuvarṇa.[1] Evidence however is not lacking to prove that Ancient Bengal was not without its store of precious minerals.

Diamonds

In the domain of Sanskrit literature there exists a class of works called *Ratnaśāstra* or *Ratnaparīkṣā* where we find mention of sources of different kinds of precious minerals in early times. In 1896 the French scholar Louis Finot published his work *Les Lapidaires Indiens* containing the text with annotated translation of eight different *Ratnaśāstra* works belonging to the eighth and later centuries of the Christian era. The eight works are *Ratnaparīkṣā* of Buddhabhaṭṭa, *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* (chs. 80-83) of Varāhamihira, *Agastimata, Navaratnaparīkṣā, Ratnaparīkṣā* of Agasti, *Ratnasaṃgraha, Laghuratnaparīkṣā* and *Maṇimāhā-*

1 See Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India,* Vol. II, p. 184:—'The country [of Pun-na-fa-ṭan-na i.e. Puṇḍravardhana] had a flourishing population. Tanks, hospices and flowery groves alternated here and there, the crops were abundant'; *Ibid.,* p. 190:—'The land [of Ṭan-mo-lih-ti=Tāmralipti] was low and moist, farming was good and flowers abounded'; *Ibid.,* p. 191:—'The land of [Kie (Ka)-lo-na-su-fa-la-na or Karṇasuvarṇa] was low and moist, farming operations were regular, flowers and fruits were abundant'.

tmya. M. Finot gives the sources of diamond after these works in tabular form as follows:[2]

Ratnaparīkṣā of Buddhabhaṭṭa	Surāṣṭra	Himālaya	Mātaṅga	Pauṇḍra	Kaliṅga	Kośala	Vaiṇyātaṭa	Sūrpāra
Bṛhatsaṃhitā	Do	Do	Do	Do	Do	Do	Veṇātaṭa	Do
Agastimata	Do	Do	Vaṅga	Do	Do	Do	Veṇu	Do
Navaratnaparīkṣā	Do	Do	Mātaṅga	Do	Do	Do	Vairāgara	Sopāra
Ratnaparīkṣā of Agasti	Do	Do	Magadha	Do	Do	Do		
Ratnasaṃgraha	Do	Do	Mātaṅga	Do	Do	Do	Āraba	Do

From the above it follows that that Vaṅga and Magadha occur in place of Mātaṅga in two works. How far this reference is reliable in the absence of other corroborative evidence, it is difficult to say. On the other hand it will be seen that all the six works include Puṇḍra in the list of sources of diamond. What is more, two of them distinguish the diamond of Puṇḍra from those of other lands as regards colour. From these quotations[3] it appears that the Puṇḍra land (roughly corresponding to North Bengal) had acquired repute as a source of diamonds

2 Finot, *op. cit.*, Introduction, p. xxv.

3 *"śyāmaṃ pauṇḍrabhavaṃ mātaṅgaviṣaye nātyantapītaprabhaṃ sūrpāraṃ sitasārdrameghasadṛsaṃ raktañca saurāṣṭrajam|*
ātāmraṃ himaśailajaṃ śaśinibhaṃ vaiṇyātaṭottham tathā
kāliṅgaṃ kanakāvabhāsaruciraṃ śairīṣakaṃ kauśalaṃ||"
(Buddhabhaṭṭa's *Ratnaparīkṣā* I. 19 cited in Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
"Veṇātaṭe viśuddhaṃ śirīṣakusumopamañca kauśalakaṃ saurāṣṭrakaṃ ātāmraṃ kṛṣṇaṃ saurpārakam vajraṃ īṣattāmraṃ himavati mataṅgajaṃ vallapuṣpasaṃkāśam āpītam ca kaliṅge śyāmaṃ pauṇḍreṣu saṃbhūtaṃ" (*Bṛhatsaṃhitā*, LXXX. 6-7, quoted in Finot, *op cit.*, p. 60).

even before the sixth century A.D., the date of Varāhamihira's *Bṛhatsaṃhitā.*

Let us now try to find out approximately at what period diamonds were found in ancient Bengal. The *Agastimata* says,

'Diamonds were produced in Kośala and Kaliṅga in the *Kṛta* age, in Vaṅga and Himālaya in the *Tretā* age, in Pauṇḍra and Saurāṣṭra in the *Dvāpara* age, in Surpāra and Veṇu in the Kali age.'[4]

Similarly the *Navaratnaparīkṣā* observes,

'Diamond was derived from Kaliṅga and Kośala in the *Kṛta* age, from the Himālaya and Mātaṅga in the *Tretā* age,' from Puṇḍra and Surāṣṭra in the *Dvāpara* age and from Vairāgara and Sopāra in the *Kali* age'.[5]

The last two verses are quoted almost *verbatim* in the *Mānosollāsa,* an encyclopaedic work compiled by King Someśvara Bhūlokamalla of the Cālukya dynasty in 1131 Śaka (i.e. 1209 A.D.).[6] From the above facts it would appear that North Bengal, according to the above-named authors of the *Ratnaśāstras,* produced diamond after its sources had been exhausted in the regions of Oude, the Eastern sea-board and the Himalayas and before the opening up of the mines of the Sopara region on the west coast.

4 *kṛte kośalakaliṅgau tretāyāṃ vaṅgahemajau|*
dvāpare pauṇḍrasaurāṣṭrau kalau sūrpāraveṇujau||
Agastimata 11 quoted in Finot, *op. cit.,* p. 80.

5 *kṛtayuge kaliṅgeṣu kośale vajrasambhavaḥ*
himālaye mātaṅgādrau tretāyāṃ kuliśodbhavaḥ
pauṇḍrake ca surāṣṭre ca dvāpare parisantatiḥ
vairāgare ca sopāre kalau hīrakasambhavaḥ||
Navaratnaparīkṣā, 37-8, quoted in Finot, *op. cit.,* p. 148.

6 See *Ibid.,* Vol. 1, p. 65, Gaekwad's Oriental Series [where we have *kṛte yuge* in place of *kṛtayuge* and *yā ca santati* in place of *parisantati* of the *Navaratnaparīkṣā* verses above cited].

We have another evidence tending to the same conclusion. In the chapter called *Kośapraveśya* of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*[7] mention is made of the arrangements for testing the precious minerals and the like deposited in the King's treasury by the royal treasurer. We are here introduced to a description of five varieties of precious articles, namely jewels, pearls, beryls, diamonds and corals. That this chapter is based upon the materials of an old *ratnaśāstra* treatise, there can be no doubt. The sources of diamond are indicated here as follows:—

"*Sabhārāṣṭrakaṃ madhyamarāṣṭrakaṃ kastīrarāṣṭrakaṃ* (v.r. *kaśmakarāṣṭrakaṃ*) *śrīkaṭanakaṃ maṇimantakamindravānakañca vajram.*"

These regions are not easy to identify at present, although we may follow the commentator Bhaṭṭasvāmin in identifying Madhyamarāṣṭra with Kośala and Indravāna with Avānti. The omission of Bengal or any part of it from the list is very significant. Equally eloquent is the silence of The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* written by an unknown Greek mariner in the latter half of the first century A.C. This work gives us a description *seriatim* of the ports and trading centres from the Red Sea coast in the West to those of the Bay of Bengal in the East. It is worth noticing that the *Periplus* refers to the export of diamond from the Malabar coast, but not from the coast of Bengal. We may therefore surmise that the output of diamonds in North Bengal should be dated some time after the first century A.D. By the time of the *Agastimata* and the *Navaratnaparīkṣā*, which should probably be dated after the

7 II, 11.

Bṛhatsaṃhitā (fifth century A.D.), the supply from North Bengal had become a matter of the past.

Pearls

From very early times Ceylon was famous for its production of pearls. We have however some scanty evidence to the effect that ancient Bengal also was a source of pearls. We give below in tabular form the places of origin of pearls as mentioned in the old *ratnaśāstras* and works based upon them:—

Arthaśāstra—Tāmraparṇī pāṇḍyakavāṭaka pāśikya kulā cūrṇī mahendra kardamā śrautasī hrada Himālaya.

Ratnaparīkṣā—Siṃhala Paraloka Surāṣṭra Tāmraparṇī Puṇḍra Kauveravāṭa Himālaya. (Cited in Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 19).

Agastimata—Siṃhala Āravaṭī Pārasīka Barbara. (Cited as above, p. 95).

Navaratnaparīkṣā—Siṃhala Āravaṭa Pārasīka Barbara. (Cited as above, p. 153).

It will be noticed that only one of the above works, viz. the *Ratnaparīkṣā*, refers to the Puṇḍra country. This solitary proof, needless to say, is not conclusive. We have however another evidence of a stronger character. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, while describing the east coast of India, writes,[8]

> "There is a river near it called the Ganges and it rises and falls in the same way as the Nile. On its bank is a market-town which has the same name as the river Ganges. Through this place are brought malabathrum and Gangetic spikenard and pearls."

This mention of Gangetic pearls is supported by a reference in the *Mahābhārata* belonging approximately to the first two centuries A.D. The Sabhāparvan in course of its description of

8 *Ibid.*, p. 47, (Annotated tr. by Wilfrid H. Schoff).

the eastern conquests of Bhīma, mentions only the Kings living on the sea-coast as presenting pearls to the conqueror.[9]

Gold

The *Periplus,* in the course of its description of the river and town of Ganges above-mentioned, observes,

"It is said that there are gold mines near these places, and there is a gold coin which is called *Caltis.*"

We may infer from the above extract that the author, whose knowledge of the Eastern sea-board was doubtless very slight, was not very sure about his statement. We may surmise however, if there is any basis of truth in the report of the *Periplus,* that the gold mines in question were situated in the modern Chotanagpur or Tipperah belt.[10]

9 The passage (II. 30) runs as follows:—

sa sarvvān mlecchanṛpatīn sāgarānupavāsinaḥ|
karamāhārayāmāsa ratnānī vividhani ca||
candanāguruvaṣtrāṇi maṇimauktikakambalaṃ|
kāñcanaṃ rajatañcaiva vidrumañca mahādhanaṃ||

10 In chapter III of the *History of Bengal,* Vol. I, p. 45 published by the Dacca University, Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri compares the above-mentioned statement in the *Periplus* with the reference to 'the gold district' (*Suvarṇa-vīthi*) in a Faridpur grant, as also the place-name 'gold village' (*Suvarṇagrāma*) so well-known as the capital of Eastern Bengal in Early Muslim times. From the vagueness of these references, however, and their complete lack of corroborative evidence as also from the impossibility of locating gold mines in an alluvial area, we are tempted to ask whether the titles after all are not purely metaphorical.

THE OLDEST REPRESENTATION OF THE *ŚĀKTA* CULT IN BENGAL ART

In his recently published work called *Excavations at Paharpur, Bengal,*[1] Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, while describing the terra-cottas of the main shrine, writes as follows:

> "Another plaque shows a man seated on a cushion, holding the top-knot of his head with the left hand and a sword in the right across his own neck as if in the act of striking. This may possibly refer to the life of Buddha himself when he cut off his long hair with his sword just before he turned a recluse.

In the absence of further references, it is not possible to trace this remarkable sculpture which is not illustrated in the volume under notice. Its significance, however, can be understood from the clear description given above.

Representations of the Buddha's cutting off his hair, preparatory to his renunciation, are by no means unknown to the Eastern school of sculpture to which category the series of terracottas at Paharpur belongs at least in part. This scene, for example, is represented in two *stêlae* hailing from a village in Jessore and from an unknown site in Behar, which have been described and reproduced by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji.[2] But neither in these nor any other known specimens the Buddha is figured as holding his sword "across his own neck as if in the act of striking."

1 *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India,* No. 55, p. 67.

2 *Eastern Indian school of Mediaeval Sculpture,* pp. 56, 57, and Pls. XIX, *b,* and *c.*

The clue to the correct interpretation of the Paharpur plaque is to be found in a series of four Pallava and Early Coḷa sculptures which were first identified by Dr. J. Ph. Vogel in a paper published in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*.[3] In these sculptures which are found in the Draupadī *ratha* and the Varāha Cave at Mamallapuram, the Lower Cave at Trichinopoli and the temple at Puḷḷamaṅgai (10 miles to the south of Tanjore), we have the identical *motif* of a pair of male figures kneeling by the side of a four-armed goddess who can be easily identified as Durgā or Mahiṣamardinī. Dr. Vogel, after a minute examination of the sculptures in question, concludes that in each of the above examples the person kneeling to the proper right of the goddess is shown in the act of offering his own head to the deity.

The description of the kneeling figures by Dr. Vogel in the above examples tallies in all essentials with that of the seated figure of the Paharpur terra-cotta, to which Mr. Dikshit refers. In the two clear specimens, those from Trichinopoli and Puḷḷamaṅgai, the personage seizes the tuft of his hair by the left hand while applying the sword held in his right hand to his neck. The difference *viz.*, the absence of the goddess and the seated posture, is probably due to the fact that the Paharpur plaque was held to be not a cult-object, but a decorative design.[4]

3 *The Head-offering to the Goddess in Pallava Sculpture, BSOS.*, VI, pp. 539-543, with four plates.

4 For the illustrations of the two specimens see Dr. Vogel's article cited above. A very similar *motif* (without the goddess) occurs in an old South Indian sculpture preserved in the Madras Government Museum. It is described

A terracotta-panel now deposited in the Mathura Museum enables us to trace the extension of this striking *motif* further afield in the region of the Upper Ganges valley as far back as the Gupta period. It "shows a bearded monk with emaciated ribs detaching his own head with a sword which has half entered his throat."[5] In this specimen the monk is shown as kneeling with the right hand grasping the sword and the left holding the tuft of hair exactly as in the South Indian examples quoted above. As Mr. Agrawala kindly informs me, the terra-cotta was discovered from the bed of the Jumna at Muttra in 1938. Mr. Agrawala assigns it on grounds of style to the Gupta period.

The offering of his own head by the devotee is not unknown to our ancient religious literature. An early instance is found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Uttarakāṇḍa chaps. IX-X) in connection with the story of Rāvaṇa's austerities for matching the greatness of his half-brother Vaiśravaṇa (Kubera). How Rāvaṇa propitiated Lord Brahmā is told in the following lines: —

> *daśavarṣasahasrāṇi nirāhāro daśānanaḥ /*
> *pūrṇe varṣasahasre tu śiraścāgnau juhāva saḥ //*
> *evaṃ varṣasahasrāṇi nava tasyāticakramuḥ /*
> *śirāṃsi nava cāpyasya praviṣṭāni hutāśanam //*

as "showing a man holding his head by its hair with his left hand while he severs it from his body by means of a sword in his right" (F. H. Gravely, C. Sivaramamurti and other curators, *Guide to the Archaeological Galleries*, Madras Government Museum, Madras 1939).

5 V. S. Agrawala, *Handbook of Archaeology*, Muttra, 1939, p. 51, and figure 39.

atha varṣasahasre tu daśame daśamaṃ śiraḥ|
cchettukāme daśagrīve prāptastatra pitāmahaḥ[6]||

The above instance is only an isolated one. It is quite otherwise with the literature of the Śāktas, where we find repeated sanctions for ritual-offering of his own blood by the devotee in honour of the goddess. In the Devī-māhātmya section of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* we are told how the king Suratha and the Vaiśya Samādhi, after hearing the story of the Devī's *māhātmya,* propitiated the image of the deity by various offerings and ended by making her an offering soaked with blood from their own bodies. The Devī being propitiated appeared before them and granted them their desires:—

tau tasmin puline devyāh kṛtvā mūrtim mahīmayīm|
arhaṇām cakratustasyāḥ puṣpadhūpāgnitarpaṇaiḥ|
nirāhārau yatāhārau tanmanaskau samāhitau
dadatustau baliñcaiva nijagātrāsṛgukṣitam|
evaṃ samārādhayatostribhirvarṣairyatātmanoḥ|
parituṣṭā jagaddhātrī pratyakṣam prāha caṇḍikā|

devyuvāca

yat prārthyate tvayā bhūpa tvaya ca kulanandana|
mattastat prāpyatām sarvvaṃ parituṣṭā dadāmi tat[7]|

The *Kālikā Purāṇa* has the following verses[8] in praise of practice of blood-offering from his own body by the devotee:

śārdūlaśca naraścaiva svagātra-rudhiraṃ tathā|
caṇḍikābhairavādīnām balayah parikīrtitāḥ||

... ...

6 *Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara-kāṇḍa,* Ch. x, 10-12.

7 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* XCIII, 7-11.

8 *Kālikā Purāṇa,* LXVII, 5 and 12.

siṃhasya śarabhasyātha svagātrasya ca śoṇitaiḥ /
devī triptimavāpnoti sahasraṃ parivatsarān / /

With these may be quoted the verses from the same work[9] sanctioning the offering of flesh by the devotee: —

yaḥ svahṛdayasañjātamāṃsaṃ māṣapramāṇataḥ /
tilamudga-pramāṇādvā devyai dadyāttu bhaktitaḥ /
ṣaṇmāsābhyantare tasmāt kāmamiṣṭamavāpnuyāt / /

... ...

yenātmamāṃsaṃ satyena dadāmīśvari bhūtaye /
nirvāṇaṃ tena satyena dehi haṃ haṃ namo namaḥ /
ityanena tu mantreṇa svamāṃsam vitaredbudhaḥ / /

The *Tantra-sāra*, perhaps the most popular Tāntric *nibandha* work in Bengal, actually quotes rules relating to the offering of one's own blood before the goddess and the blessings supposed to follow from this act:

svagātrarudhiradāne tu

... ...

kaṇṭhādho nābhitaścorddhvam hṛdbhāgasya yatastataḥ /
pārśvayoścāpi rudhiraṃ durgāyai vinivedayet / /

phalantu kumārītantre

svagātrarudhiram dattvā natvā rājatvamāpnuyāt / /
yaḥ svahṛdayasañjātaṃ māṃsam māṣa-pramāṇtaḥ /
tila-mudga-pramāṇam vā dadyādbhaktiyuto naraḥ /
ṣaṇmāsābhyantare tasya kāmamiṣṭamavāpnuyāt[10] / /

In the late Tāntric *nibandha* work from Bengal, called *Prāṇatoṣaṇī* written (as we learn from the preamble) by Rāma-

9 LXVII, 172 and 184-185.
10 *Tantra-sāra*, pp. 933-34, Bangabāsi ed., Calcutta 1334 B.S.

toṣaṇa Vidyālaṃkāra in 1743 Śaka (1821 A.D.), we have a quotation from the Matsya-sūkta of *Mahātantra.* Here we have a comparative list of the merits of different kinds of blood-offerings before the Devī including that of his own blood by the devotee.[11] It is a matter of common knowledge that the rule of offering blood nearest the heart before the goddess is very much observed by pious Hindu ladies of Bengal down to our own times.

The offering of one's own blood before the goddess was not approved as a general rule by all the authorities of the Śākta cult. The *Kālikā Purāṇa* forbids a Brāhmaṇa to offer his own blood as well as that of some creatures in the passage mentioned below:

siṃhaṃ vyāghraṃ narañcāpi svagātrarudhiraṃtathā
na dadyāt brāhmaṇo madyaṃ mahādevyai kadācana/

... ...

svagātrarudhiraṃ dadyāccātmavadhyamavāpnuyāt[12]*/*

To the same effect runs a text quoted in the *Tantra-sāra:—*
madyaṃ dattvā mahādevyai brāhmaṇo narakaṃ vrajet
svagātrarudhiraṃ dattvā ātmahatyāmavāpnuyāt[13]*/*

Lastly, the *Haratattva-dīdhiti,*[13a] while quoting similar inhibitory texts from the *Gāyatrītantra,* reproduces and explains away a text of the *Yoginītantra* expressly enjoining a Brāhmaṇa to offer his own blood to the Devī:—

yattu evaṃ vipro devatāyai svagātrarudhiraṃ dadediti

11 *Prāṇa-toṣaṇī,* Basumati edition, Calcutta, p. 285.
12 *Kālikā Purāṇa,* LXVII, 50 and 52.
13 *Tantra-sāra,* p. 934.
13a *Hara-tattva-dīdhiti,* p. 329 Calcutta ed., 1907.

yoginītantrasaṣṭhapaṭalavacanaṃ tattādṛśādhikāriparam. pūrvvavacane svagātrarudhiradānasya madyatulyanindāśravanāt.

It is interesting to observe that the conflict of authorities is reflected in the literature of folk-lore which as might be expected contains a number of references to such a peculiar rite as the head-offering ceremony. In Somadeva's *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* (11th century) we have in two slightly different versions (LIII, 86-193 and LXXV, 5-120) the story of the Brāhmaṇa Vīravara who to save his royal master from his impending doom actually or nearly cut off his own head as an offering to the goddess Caṇḍikā, when the deity struck by this extraordinary act of devotion granted all his desires. In the other versions of the *Vetāla-pañcaviṃśati*, such as those of Śivadāsa, Kṣemendra (in the *Bṛhatkathā-mañjarī*), and Jambhaladatta, Vīravara is more properly described as a *rājaputra* and *kṣatriya*.[14] The *Hitopadeśa* (III, 8), which also gives the story of Vīravara similarly characterises the same as a *rājaputra*.

Apart from these references, we have mention of head-offering before the goddess as a familiar *motif* in some other well-known tales of Sanskrit literature. Somadeva's *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* (LXXX, 4-51), Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (IX. 405-415) as well as Śivadāsa's version of the *Vetāla-pañcaviṁśati* contains the story of the washerman Dhavala and his brother-in-law (or friend) who cut off their own heads for presentation to the goddess Gaurī in a fit of excessive devotion. When the grief-striken wife of Dhavala prepared to follow suit, the goddess

14 M. B. Emeneau, *Jambhaladatta's version of the Vetāla-pañcaviṁśati*, American Oriental Series, Vol. IV, p. 43.

restored the dead persons to life. The same story is told in Jambhaladatta's version of the *Vetāla-pañcaviṁśati*[15] with this difference that Dhavala there figures as a prince and is said to have won his bride by similarly offering to cut off his own head so as to propitiate the goddess. Above all, the *Dvātrimśat-puttalikā* has a number of stories of King Vikramāditya, the paragon of royalty, who performs the same extraordinary act of sacrifice. In most of these stories (Nos. II, VII, VIII, XXVIII) the king interceding in favour of some suffering mortal prepares to strike at his own neck with his sword and thus successfully propitiates the goddess Ambikā or Bhuvaneśvarī or an un-named deity said to be fond of human flesh. Only in one story (XXVII) the act of devotion is performed before a Bhairava or attendant of Śiva.[16]

The classical Tamil literature also refers to this dread rite which was known as *talai-bali*. Thus in the *Śilappadikāram* translated by Mr. V. R. Ramacandra Diksitar (Oxford University Press 1939), we are told[17] of warriors who "cut off their dark-haired heads containing such fierce red eyes as seemed to burn those upon whom they looked and wilingly offered them upon the sacrificial altar (of the guardian deity) with the prayer that the conquering king might be ever victorious."

The popularity of the head-offering *motif* is shown by the fact that it finds mention not only in ancient Sanskrit and Tamil, but also in modern vernacular literature of folk tales.

15 *Ibid.*, pp. 61-63, and notes.

16 Franklin Edgerton, *Vikrama's Adventures, the Thirty-two tales of the Throne*, Part I, trans. pp. 50, 52, 94, 215, 220.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 113, and the author's note, p. 113, *n.*

We have thus the pathetic story of Hamir the valiant Cauhān chieftain of Ranthambhor who had the audacity to defy the mighty Alauddin Khilji, Sultan of Delhi and at last ended his life by cutting off his own head as an offering to the God Rudra. This story is told in four Hindi poems of the first half of the nineteenth century and is illustrated by at least three series of paintings of Kangra school belonging to that period.[18]

It thus appears that the religious rite of head-offering had an extensive vogue in Indian art and literature going back at least to Gupta times. Its motives are various, involving persuasion of the deity by the devotee for conferring material favours upon himself or upon others. It is most often associated with the Śākta cult, though some examples of its connection with the cult of Śiva and other deities also occur. Examples of devotees cutting their necks in the famous centre of Śākta cult in Bengal, the temple of Kāli at Kālighat, occurred as late as 1855.[19] The religious literature of the Śāktas though it does not directly sanction this rite at least encourages the same by recognising offering of one's own blood to the goddess as an act of merit. From this point of view our present plaque possesses a unique historical significance. If our argument is accepted as correct, the Paharpur plaque would be the oldest known representation of the Śākta cult in Bengal.[19a] Of its date we can speak only in very general

18 See Hirananda Sastri, 'The Hamir-Haṭh,' *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, October, 1915, pp. 35-40. I owe this reference to Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterjee of the Calcutta University.

19 See the article in the Bengali monthly magazine, *Bhāratavarṣa*, Śrāvaṇa 1347 B.S. quoting two letters dated 17.6.1854 and 21.1.1855, deposited in the Imperial Records Office, Delhi.

19a No reference is unfortunately made to this paper or even to its

terms. It has been shown in recent times[20] that the Paharpur sculptures belong to three distinct chronological groups of which the first and second may be assigned to the Gupta tradition of Eastern India in the 7th century and the third to the indigenous tradition in the century following. The Paharpur terracotta, to which category our present specimen belongs, may be assigned to this later chronological stratum.

subject-matter in the chapter on iconography in the *History of Bengal,* Vol. I. just published (1943) by the Dacca University.

20 S. K. Sarasvati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal in JL.,* Vol. xxx, pp. 40-41. For the controversy about the date of the .Paharpur sculptures see Ch. XIV. 'Sculpture' by Dr. Nihar-Ranjan Ray (p. 525 *n.*) in the *History of Bengal,* Vol. I. published by the Dacca University. It may be added that according to this last-named author the majority of the terracotta are contemporaneous with the history of the monument and should therefore be dated not later than the last half of the eighth century A.D.

AN EPISODE IN THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT BENGAL—THE OCCUPATION OF VARENDRĪ (NORTH BENGAL) BY DIVYA AND HIS LINE

Introductory

Among the most interesting episodes of the Ancient History of Bengal may be mentioned the short-lived occupation, in the last quarter of the eleventh century, of Varendrī, the ancestral seat of the Pāla kings, by a line of chiefs belonging to the humble Kaivarta ('fishermen') caste. The founder of this line was Divya (otherwise called Dibboka or Diboka) originally an officer of the Pāla kings, who was succeeded in turn by his brother Rudoka and his nephew Bhīma. It is an index of the newly awakened interest in our country's past that a group of public-spirited citizens forming a society for the commemoration of Divya (*'Divya-Smṛti-Samiti'*) have been till lately holding annual celebrations in honour of the long-departed chieftain. To the same active interest it is owing that an extraordinarily keen controversy has been started in our times over the life and character of the Kaivarta leader. In view of the great inportance of the subject it is proposed to consider it as fully as the existing materials will allow.

The sources of Divya's history

The materials for reconstructing the lost history of Divya are remarkably scanty. Leaving aside popular tales, the evidence in favour of his historical existence was confined even so

late as thirty years ago to the references in two or three copper-plate inscriptions.[1] The fortune discovery of a manuscript of the *Rāmacarita* ('the chronicle of king *Rāmapāla*) by the late Mm. Haraprasad Sastri in 1897 and its publication under the auspices of the [Royal] Asiatic Society of Bengal by the same scholar in 1910, have made it possible for the first time to unlock, if to a slight extent, the secret of Divya's career. The author of this precious work, Sandhyākara Nandin, composed it in the reign of Madanapāla, the youngest son of Rāmapāla, who ascended the throne after the death of his elder brother Kumārapāla and his nephew Gopāla III. The father of Sandhyākara Nandin, Prajāpati Nandin, as the author tells us at the conclusion of his work, occupied the office of 'Minister of Peace and War' (*Sāndhivigrahika*) under the Pāla kings. The author, therefore, had ample opportunities for acquainting himself at first hand with the course of contemporary events. The *Rāmacarita* must accordingly be acknowledged to be a work of high authority for the reign of Rāmapāla and the years immediately preceding and following the same. Nevertheless, the history of Divya is still plunged in darkness and, it is feared, will remain so for a long time to come.

The materials for Divya's biography, to begin with, are altogether one-sided in character. Accordingly we are not surprised to find Sandhyākara comparing Divya's occupation of Varendrī with the abduction of Sītā by the demon King Rāvaṇa. A similar instance of one-sided

1 See Belava Grant of Bhojavarman and Manhali Grant of Madanapāla, referred to below.

judgment is found in the seventeenth century history of England, where Oliver Cromwell the chief actor in the drama of the Great Rebellion was stigmatised by historians of the Stuart party as a hypocrite and a reprobate. We may surmise that if any chronicler of Divya's party had wielded the pen, he would not have shrunk from painting Divya and Bhīma as the saviours of Varendrī from Mahīpāla II's yoke, in the guise of lord Kṛṣṇa emancipating the people from the tyranny of King Kaṃsa. In the interest of historical truth, therefore, we should beware of accepting at its face value any statement of the Pāla court poet, which is derogatory to Divya and his family. On the other hand we may safely accept as a historical fact any admission derogatory to the Pāla Kings or favourable to their enemies.

Another obstacle standing in the way of recovery of the complete history of Divya and his family is the scantiness of authentic data so far discovered about them. The *Rāmacarita*, as is well-known, belongs not to the literature of history, but to that of artificial poetry (*kāvya*). The literary mode of composing history in the *kāvya* fashion, which was foreshadowed by the Hatigumphā Inscription of Khāravela, the Nāsik *praśasti* of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi, the Girnar Rock Inscription of Rudradāman and some other famous rock inscriptions of the first two centuries before and after Christ, was afterwards adopted in the *Harṣacarita* and other works. The defects of a historical work proceeding from the pen of a poet using the intricacies of the *kāvya* style are sufficiently obvious. In a work of this character it is idle to expect regard for such cardinal canons of historical composition as definiteness of topography and chronology, con-

nected narrative of events and analysis of the principal characters. The *Rāmacarita* is no exception to this general rule. It is, beyond doubt, almost completely free from that undue preponderance of the descriptive element as compared with the narrative, which disfigures, for instance, the *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpatirāja and the *Kumārapālacarita* of Hemacandra. Not without reason does the poet claim for his work that it is filled with the interest resulting from the events described.[2] Nevertheless it must be admitted that the historical value of this work has been greatly impaired for another reason. The *Rāmacarita* is throughout written in *double entendre,* its verses from first to last applying in one sense to Rāmacandra, the hero of the *Rāmayaṇa,* and in another to Rāmapāla the Pāla King. As the poet proudly observes, his work recording the noble achievements of Rāma the lord of the Raghus and Rāmapāla King of Gauḍa is the *Rāmayaṇa* of the Kali Age and he himself is the Vālmīki of the same Age.[3] In performing this difficult feat, the poet has, it is true, preserved the order of events in the Rāmāyaṇa story. But this has been neglected in places in the history of the Pāla Kings. What is most regrettable is that the facts recorded by him, while sufficiently clear in the case of *Rāmāyaṇa* story, are so obscure with regard to contemporary events that a commentary, which is unfortunately incomplete, is our only guide for comprehending their true import. The

2 The reference is to *v.* 6 of the Appendix called *Kavipraśasti* where the author applies the epithet *ghaṭanāparisphutarasa* to his work.

3 See *v.* 11 of the *Kavipraśasti* which runs as follows:—
avadānaṃ raghuparivṛḍhagauḍāḍhiparāmadevayoretat /
kaliyugarāmāyaṇamiha kavirapi kalikālavālmīkiḥ / /

published work again is based upon one single faulty manuscript. The Varendra Research Society has therefore earned the gratitude of the scholarly world by sponsoring the publication (with an accompanying English translation) of an improved edition of the *Rāmacarita*.[4]

Divya's early life.

In the commentary to *Rāmacarita* I. 12 it is said of Rāmapāla that he 'rescued the earth which had been submerged beneath the weight of the Kaivarta King.' The commentary to another verse (I. 29) states that Rāmapāla destroyed the ease of the Kaivarta King.[5] These two statements of the commentator are our only authority (which indeed there is no proper reason to disbelieve) for determining the caste of Divya and his family. A direct proof of Divya's official rank is furnished by another verse (I. 38) of the *Rāmacarita* which, as explained by the commentator,[6] suggests that he held high military or political office under the Pāla Kings. The term *bhṛtya* applied here to Divya would evidently be inappropriate if he had been a feudatory chief. That Divya was a military officer is suggested by a reference in a contemporary inscription. In the Belāva copper-plate inscription of Prince Bhojavarman it is said, in

4 The reference is to be the new edition of the *Rāmacaritam* by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr R. G. Basak and Pandit Nani Gopal Banerjee (Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, 1939).

5 The relevant passages are: *kenaḥ ka[ḥ]kutsita inaḥ kaivarttanṛpaḥ tasmin nimagnāyā* and *sa Rāmapāla...dviṣah śatroḥ kaivarttasya nṛpasya svāsthyaṃ...nirāsthat.*

6 *māṃsabhujā lakṣmyā aṃśaṃ bhuñjānena bhṛtyenoccairdaśakena uccairmahatī daśā avasthā yasya atyucchritenetyarthaḥ.*

the course of eulogy of his grandfather Jātavarman that the latter surpassed the strength of Divya's arms.[7] From the fact that Jātavarman was a contemporary of Mahīpāla II's father King Vigrahapāla III, it has been concluded that Divya attained fame as a general of the last-mentioned King and that this renown was eclipsed by Jātavarman. It is difficult to judge how far this view is correct. It is not improbable that Divya got his chance of winning his reputation after Mahīpāla's death and that Jātavarman was alive even then.

Character of Mahīpāla II.

The greatest achievement of Divya's life was his occupation of Varendrī. Let us first analyse the character of the ill-starred Pāla King who was thus deprived of his ancestral possession. In a group of eight connected verses (*kulaka*) the *Rāmacarita* tells us how in one sense Sītā, the daughter of Janaka, was abducted by Rāvaṇa and how in another sense the ancestral dominion of the Pāla Kings was acquired by Divya. Taking the first of these verses,[8] we find that it means with regard to Rāmapāla that this Prince suffered great mental anguish when his father died and his brother who was intent on impolitic measures (*anītikārambha*) ascended the throne. About the significance of this term *anītikārambha*, there is a great deal of controversy. According to some scholars who take it in its usual sense supported also by the commentary, it means that

7 The reference is to the phrase *nindan divyabhujaśriyam* in verse 8 of the Belava Grant, *Ep. Ind.*, XII; or *Inscrs. of Bengal*, vol. III (no. 3) by N. G. Majumdar.

8 I. 31:—*prathamamuparate pitari mahīpāle bhrātari kṣamābhārām /*
bibhratyanīkā[rambha]rate rāmādhikāritāṃ dadhati / /

Mahīpāla was addicted to impolitic acts. In support of this view is quoted another verse[9] which means in substance that 'the night of the world' fell upon mankind because of the evil acts of Rāmapāla's impolitic elder brother and was dispelled by the first-named Prince through his majesty. Of similar import is another verse[10] according to which, if we are to accept the commentator's explanation, the King (*bhūmibhṛta*) Mahīpāla was capable of performing wonderful tricks and was hard like a pavement of stone. In another verse[11] of the connected group (*kulaka*) above-mentioned, Mahīpāla is described as '*bhūtanayātrāṇayukta*' which is taken by the commentator to mean that the King was engaged in non-observance of truth and policy.[12]

According to the above view, then, Mahīpāla was addicted to impolicy, he was an adept in trickery, he was hard like a stone pavement, he was ever-engaged in non-ovservance of truth and policy. Completely different from the above is the opinion of another group of scholars. This is based primarily upon the commentator's explanation of the word *anītikārambharate* referred to above. Mahīpāla, according to this explanation, disregarded the advice of his minister who was skilled in 'the six-fold measure' of foreign policy; his troops were greatly

9 I. 22:—*lokāntarapraṇayino durnayabhājo 'grajanmano vyasanāt/ patitāndhakāravatyanubhāvādudahāri gotamī tena//*

10 I. 32:—*rāme tu citrakūṭaṃ vikaṭopalapaṭalakuṭṭimakaṭhoram/ bhūmibhṛtamāpatite tapasvini mahāśaye 'sahane//*

The commentary explains it in Rāmapāla's sense as follows:—
'citrakūṭaṃ adbhutamāyaṃ śilākuṭṭimavat karkaśaṃ bhūbhṛtaṃ mahīpālaṃ tapasvini anukampārhatvadaśāpanne'.

11 I. 36.

12 *bhūtaṃ satyaṃ nayo nītaṃ tayorarakṣaṇe yuktaḥ prasaktaḥ.*

alarmed at the onslaught of the assembled 'four-fold force' of the feudatories, some abandoned their arms, some had their bound-up hair dishevelled and others began to run away, while those who remained on the battlefield suffered heavy loss of their own accord. Nevertheless Mahīpāla, without caring to acquire sufficient strength, embarked on the furious struggle with the forces of his feudatories and was submerged in the fight. In the opinion of the second group of scholars this was the only impolitic act of Mahīpāla. They also hold that the word 'impolitic' (*durnayabhāk*) applied to Mahīpāla in a verse above quoted[13] refers merely to the King's short-sightedness regarding military affairs, while the adjectives *citrakūṭam* and *vikaṭopalapaṭalakuṭṭimakaṭhoram* of another verse[14] are applied to *bhūmibhṛta* not with reference to Mahīpāla, but in the sense of an underground prison. Finally, these authors adopt what they think to be the true reading *tayorarakṣaṇe* (in place of *tayorakṣaṇe*) in the commentary to the verse I. 36 quoted above. Thus they explain the term *bhūtanayātrāṇayukta* of I. 36 to mean that Mahīpāla was engaged in the observance of truth and policy. From the above arguments it follows that Mahīpāla's impolitic act consisted solely in the fact that in disregard of the advice of his wise minister he confronted the formidable forces of his feudatories with his few dispirited troops; he was otherwise constantly engaged in the observance of truth and policy.[15]

13 I. 22.

14 I. 32 quoted above.

15 According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar (Chap. VI. The Pālas, p. 150) in *History of Bengal*, vol. I, Dacca, 1943, Sandhyākara Nandi as a partizan of

Our view of the character of Divya depends upon the right answer to the two opposite views just mentioned. If Mahīpāla was in reality impolitic, tricky and addicted to the violation of truth and policy, the person who delivered Varendrī from his yoke must, beyond doubt be regarded as a public benefactor. Were we, on the other hand, to accept the view that Mahīpāla, usually inclined to follow the paths of truth and policy, deviated from this course only by engaging in an unequal fight, the conduct of Dvya would not be adjudged as deserving of much praise. In support of the second view it may be argued that the commentator explains *vyasanāt* in I. 22 as *yuddhavyasanāt.* There can be no doubt, then, that Mahīpāla's excessive proneness to fight was the chief cause of his ruin. We can safely affirm that it was this mentality that led him against the advice of his wise minister to engage in an unequal fight with the huge forces of the chiefs. Does it therefore, follow that this second view is the right one? If that were so, how should we account for the opprobrious term *-rate* in the phrase *anītikārambharate* applied to Mahīpāla in I. 31 above quoted? What, again, is the justification for the unusual explanation of *bhūmibhṛta* as underground prison in I. 32 quoted above. If the authors of

Rāmapāla 'cannot be regarded as an unprejudiced and impartial critic of either Mahīpāla or the Kaivarta chiefs who were the enemies of Rāmapāla'. In the same context, however, Dr. Majumdar quotes the epithet *rājapravara* translated by him as 'a good and great king' which the poet applied (I. 29) to Mahīpāla. Elsewhere (*op. cit.,* p. 154) he refers to Sandhyākara Nandī's 'every flattering description of the personal virtues of Bhīma and the riches and strength of his kingdom.' Do not these facts prove that Sandhyākara Nandī, inspite of his acknowledged bias in Rāmapāla's favour, was incapable of suppressing the good points in the characters of the king's adversaries?

the second school are right in holding that we are not in a position to go beyond the commentary, why should a different canon of interpretation be adopted in the case of the last-named verse? As regards the phrase *tayorarakṣaṇe* (which we take to be the correct reading) in the commentary on I 36 above quoted, we admit that Mm. H. P. Sastri in his edition of the *Rāmacarita* has emended it into *tayorakṣaṇe*. But we cannot consider this point as he has given no reasons for the change.[16] We have further, to observe that the commentator, while explaining *bhūtanayātrāṇayuktaḥ* in the verse last mentioned, gives *prasakta* ('addicted') as the synonym of *yukta*. The phrase just mentioned would then mean 'excessively addicted to non-observance of truth and policy.' This interpretation, natural as it is, admirably fits in with the facts recorded in the *Rāmacarita* about Mahīpāla. The king, we are told, threw his brother into prison under the false impression that Rāmapāla would deprive him of his sovereignty. If Rāmapāla had really designed to deprive his brother of the throne, his persecution might have been in accordance with the rules of truth and policy. But, as the poet himself observes, it was at the instigation of envious people (*māyidhvaninā*) that Mahīpāla was led to suspect the possibility of danger from his brother.[17] For a King who was 'inordinately devoted to the violation of truth and policy,' it was but natural to subject his blameless brother to

16 The reading *tayorarakṣaṇe* has been definitely adopted by the joint authors of the new edition, who add in a footnote (p. 38 *n*) that Mm. Sastri's emended reading is wrong.

17 The reference is to verses I. 36-37 of the group (*kulaka*) referred to above.

inhuman punishment at the instigation of envious persons. We are tempted, lastly, to ask the exponents of the second view, Supposing Mahīpāla to have been guilty of impolicy only in regard to military affairs why did the numberless feudatories rise against him and attack him in a body?

The causes of the rising of the vassals.

Let us try to analyse the causes of the rebellion of the assembled feudatories against Mahīpāla. From the use of the phrase *militāntasāmantacakra*,[18] it may be inferred that the rising was not confined to one or two areas, but was extended over the greater part of Bengal. To us it seems that its main cause is to be sought for in Mahīpāla's attempt to lessen or destroy the privileges of the feudatories. We have no reason to wonder at the fact that the King, who was sufficiently impolitic to imprison his blameless brother at the instigation of unworthy people, would seek to interfere with the collective privileges of his chiefs. A parallel instance is furnished by English history. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the oppressive King John not only assassinated his blameless nephew Prince Arthur, but he also started such a course of general oppression in his kingdom that the nobles were compelled collectively to take up arms against him. What constitutes their unique glory is that they were not content with looking after their own interests, but also sought the well-being of the whole people.

If the above line of reasoning be accepted as correct, we have to conclude that the rebellion of the feudatories against

18 This occurs in the commentary on I. 31 above quoted.

Mahīpāla was primarily a large-scale attempt to safeguard their collective interests. To test the soundness of this view, we have to begin by stating that in such a case the feudatories after their success in warfare would naturally proceed to enhance their authority in their respective jurisdictions. The brothers Śūrapāla and Rāmapāla, however deserving of compassion for their unmerited suffering, would therefore fail to win the support of the chiefs and would in fact be left almost helpless. We may well believe that when at length Rāmapāla sought to recover his lost ancestral dominion, he would have to beg for the support of the chiefs and promise gift of money and territory as inducements for their services. The account that we get from the *Rāmacarita* and contemporary copper-plate inscriptions, exactly fits in with this hypothetical reconstruction of events. From the Manahali grant of Madanapāla[19] it appears that Mahīpāla's two brothers Śūrapāla (or Surapāla) and Rāmapāla succeeded him one after another on the throne. We may surmise that Śūrapāla enjoyed a brief and precarious rule over some part of Bengal outside Varendrī, since no reference is made to his enjoying the sovereignty either in the *Rāmacarita* or in the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva.[20] Of Śūrapāla it is said in the above-named Manahali grant that he was equal to Indra and Kārttikeya; he was bold and skilled in policy; the amplitude of his military equipment filled with alarm the hearts of his enemies inspite of their possessing excessive valour.[21] But there

19 *JASB.*, LXIX Pt. I p. 68.

20 *Ep. Ind.*, II p. 350.

21 The relevant verse (no. 14) is as follows:—
tasyābhūdanujo mahendramahimā skandaḥ pratāpaśriyā-
mekaḥ sāhasasārathir ggunanayaḥ śrīśūrapālo nṛpaḥ/

is no mention of his success in warfare. Probably Śūrapāla, though himself endowed with the qualities of courage and valour and equipped with ample supply of war materials, was unable to win much success against the vast array of his enemies. Rāmapāla, Śūrapāla's successor on the throne, was at first filled with utter despair, as we learn from the explicit statements in the *Rāmacarita* (1. 40-41). Here we are told that the Prince held his pair of arms to be useless; although surrounded by sons and friends, he regarded his valour as vain; he thought lightly even of his royal position, as he was bereft of his beloved Varendrī land. We may guess that the league of chiefs which destroyed Mahīpāla still preserved its cohesion intact. At length Rāmapāla settled his plan of action in consultation with his sons and ministers. Visiting amid great privations the territories of the forest-chiefs and other feudatories, he built up a league favourable to himself. The chiefs, who had risen in revolt against Mahīpāla and brought about his ruin on account of his impolitic acts, were now induced by the diplomacy of Rāmapāla and his ministers to veer round to the royal side. They became the King's principal helpers in recovering Varendrī, the ancestral seat of Pāla sovereignty.

In support of the view set forth above, we may further state that it is only thus that we can account for the rapid decline and fall of the Pāla dynasty. It appeared at first sight that the old glory of the Pālas was restored to them after the recovery of Varendrī. Rāmapāla with the help of his maternal uncle Mathana conquered Kāmarūpa and other lands. In the East a

yaḥ svacchanda-nisarggavibhramabharān vibhrat [*su*]*sarvvāyudha-prāgalbhyena manaḥsu vismayabhayaṃ sadyas tatāna dviṣām*//

King of the Varman dynasty honoured him with the gift of the best chariots and elephants.[22]

But this success was in reality nothing but the unnatural glare of the lamp before its final extinction. The feudatories, after their victory over Mahīpāla, doubtless enjoyed enough opportunities for increasing their authority. After Rāmapāla's destruction of Bhīma's rule with their aid, they must have attained a predominant position in the Pāla Kingdom. Although Rāmapāla recovered his ancestral realm with the support of the chiefs, it fell under the yoke of Vijayasena, sprung from a line of feudatories in Rāḍhā, sometime after the eighth regnal year of Madanapāla and the composition of the *Rāma-carita*. The weapon which Rāmapāla forged for the destruction of Divya's line was turned into an instrument of destruction of his own son.

Significance of Divya's occupation of Varendrī.

Let us now try to unlock the secret of Divya's acquisition of Varendrī. We have no evidence to show that Divya joined the great force of feudatories against whom Mahīpāla had hurled his vacillating and fleeing troops only to court his own destruction. We think that the rising of the chiefs and Divya's occupation of Varendrī were two unconnected events. But we may safely state that the rising was the principal cause of Divya's success. According to the author the Varendrī land was occupied by Divya who was a *dasyu* and *upadhivratī*. This last term is taken by one group of scholars to mean 'a

22 For these successes see *Rāmacarita* III. 24; 44-47.

disguised rebel' on the authority of the commentary.[23] According to this view, then, Divya had no intention of rising in revolt, but he was led to take this step by the turn of events which made it his imperative duty. According to the other school, Divya fomented the rising against Mahīpāla as an imperative act of duty and then covertly joined the same. In other words Divya, while pretending to seek the welfare of Rāmapāla, himself seized the throne after Mahīpāla's death. Even if this were the view intended by the author of the *Rāmacarita*, we would hesitate to accept it as gospel truth. For the *Rāmacarita* gives us, as said before, only an one-sided version of the incident. We may however well doubt whether the above explanation is the right one. In view of the inhuman oppression to which Rāmapāla was subjected without any fault by his elder brother, it was natural for the former to attract the compassion of his subjects. If Divya had therefore seized the throne under pretence of securing Rāmapāla's welfare, would the people of Varendrī have joined the side of the treacherous usurper against their lawful king of a well established line?

Can we then accept the first-named interpretation of *upadhivratin* and explain the whole passage to mean that Divya was forced to accept the sovereignty, since there was no other alternative. We think that Divya's so-called 'vow' (*vrata*), which is referred to by the poet, consisted in the fact that he looked not after his personal or family interests, but after the security of the people of Varendrī. The gravamen of the poet's charge is that Divya occupied Varendrī on the pretext of secur-

23 *avaśyakarttavyatayā āravdhaṃ karma vrataṃ chadmani vratī.*

ing the people's welfare. Let us try to find out what opportunity presented itself before Divya for doing good to the Varendrī people. When Mahīpāla sank beneath the weight of attack of the formidable chiefs, his brothers who were heirs to the throne lay probably still immersed in underground dungeons. It would seem that under such circumstances public order almost disappeared from the kingdom. The chiefs strengthened their position where they were well-established. Varendrī unlike other tracts enjoyed the unique distinction of being the ancestral seat of the Pāla Kings. Was it for this that while the Khaḍgas, the Śūras, the Senas and other independent or semi-independent dynasties arose in Rāḍhā and Vaṅga, no such dynasty could be founded in Varendrī? If in reality Varendrī did not possess a powerful line of feudatories, is it unnatural to apprehend that it was faced with the great peril of anarchy after the eclipse of Mahīpāla II's fortunes? Does it, then, involve a great stretch of imagination, if we hold that the afflicted subjects in the situation above-mentioned sought the protection of a high official endowed with good furtune like Divya? Assuming this reconstruction of facts to be the true history of Divya's occupation of Varendrī, we need not be surprised if the partizan-poet should give a distorted version of the whole affair by affirming that Divya's real object was not to afford protection to the helpless subjects of Varendrī, but to seize the throne for himself.

The question may now be asked, whether Divya acquired the ruling authority over Varendrī by popular election. We have no direct evidence to enable us to answer this question. For our only authority consists of a hidden allusion in the work

of a partizan-poet.[24] We have, however, enough reason to infer that the sovereignty of Divya and his heirs was based upon the firm foundation of loyal devotion of the subjects. In the Manahali grant of Madanapāla above referred to, we are told that Rāmapāla bore himself with patience, although troubled by the formidable attacks of the people on Divya's side, just as Indra was patient in spite of his being troubled with the attack of the demons.[25] Probably Rāmapāla suffered a severe reverse while attempting for the first time to recover Varendrī from Divya's subjects. Does not this mighty effort of the people of Varendrī against the old line of Kings suggest that their whole stock of heart-felt regard was bestowed upon the new chief? When the *mahāpratīhāra* Śivarāja, 'the crest-jewel of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas,' was sent by Rāmapāla to invade Varendrī as a preliminary to his own invasion, he proceeded in a significant fashion. He went about, as the poet tells us,[26] enquiring about

24 It will be noticed that all that the author has attempted to do in the course of the present discussion is to suggest, on the basis of a closely reasoned chain of arguments, what he thinks to be the most probable hypothesis, viz. that Divya's assumption of royal authority in Varendrī was undertaken in the interests of the afflicted people during a period of anarchy. It has further been clearly stated that there is no direct evidence in favour of the contention that Divya was chosen by popular election. In view of the above undoubted facts it is amazing to find that a well-known scholar (Dr. R C. Majumdar, *Rāmacarita* edition, Introduction pp. XVI-XVII *n*, and Ch. VI, *History of Bengal,* vol. I, p. 153 *n*) has thought it fit repeatedly to charge the author with seeking to support 'the popular view' that Divya's advent was 'merely a popular reaction against the oppression and wickedness of the King' [Mahīpāla II] and that 'far from being rebellious (*sic.*) in character it was an assertion of the popular right to dethrone a bad and unpopular King and elect a popular chief in his place'. But prejudice often works wonders!

25 The relevant verse (No. 15) has been quoted above, See *JASB.*, 1900.

26 I. 48-50.

the names of districts and villages so that he might grant immunity only to the lands dedicated to deities and Brāhmaṇas; his sword carried devastation into the Varendrī land; Bhīma's sovereignty was everywhere smashed, as his guards were destroyed by Śivarāja's might; the inhabitants of no city could live at ease. Does not this unwonted barbarity of the invader indirectly prove the excessive regard of the subjects for the newly established sovereign? Even when Śivarāja announced to his master the results of his blood-stained expedition, Rāmapāla could not stay in peace. He equipped a formidable expedition of which the magnitude is the surest index of the fact that the collective strength of the people of Varendrī was arrayed against him. Describing immediately afterwards the fight between the forces of Rāmapāla and Bhīma, the author gives us a series of nine connected verses[27] referring in one sense to the bridging of the ocean by the Epic hero Rāmacandra and in another to the binding of King Bhīma by Rāmapāla. The last of this group of verses means in one sense that Rāmacandra, having acquired a reliable friend in the person of the demon-King's second brother (Vibhīṣaṇa) and having built a bridge of rocks, bound down the terrible ocean. In another sense it means that Rāmapāla, having joined in the fray and won over to his side the people of all quarters, captured the panic-stricken Bhīma who was seated on an elephant.[28] Here, it will be noticed, the poet, although a partizan on the enemy's side,

27 II. 12-20.

28 The verse is as follows:—
saṃyaganugatarasasenāprathamasahodareṇa rāmeṇa/
bhīmaḥ sa sindhuragatoraṇaṃ racayatā kilābandhi// 2. 20.

while pointedly alluding to the incident of Vibhīṣaṇa's treachery, fails to refer to a similar defection in Bhīma's camp. Does not this fact furnish the strongest evidence of the sincere devotion of the people to Bhīma?

Estimate of Bhīma

While dwelling in the above pages on the incidents of Divya's career, we thought it necessary to refer incidentally to his capable nephew Bhīma. To us it appears that to ignore Bhīma while adjudging the achievements of Divya is not only to commit an act of injustice towards the memory of the former, but also to fail to visualize the character of the latter in its proper setting. In I. 39 the *Rāmacarita* describes how Bhīma won the throne. In the light of the commentary it means that Divya's brother Rudoka and after Rudoka his son Bhīma acquired the dominion over Varendrī. But neither Divya nor Rudoka was able to establish his rule on firm foundations. What they failed to do was achieved by Bhīma. For he established his sovereignty securely over Varendrī and proved his title thereto by taking the title of King. In the verse just quoted the author applies to Bhīma two adjectives *kriyākṣama* ('competent to work out any scheme') and *vivaraprahārakṛt* (versed in striking at the vulnerable point') testifying to his high capacity.[29] The other

29 The verse (I. 29) runs as follows:—
trastānujatanujasya ca bhīmasya vivaraprahārakṛtaḥ /
sābhikhyayā varendrī kriyākṣamasya khalu rakṣaṇīyābhūt // I. 39.
The commentary on the above in Rāmapāla's case is as follows:—
sā bhūmi abhikhyayā nāmnā varendrī trastā asya divyokasya yo anujo rudokaḥ tadīyatanayasya bhīmanāmnaḥ randhraprahāriṇaḥ kriyākṣamasya alam-karmīṇasya yathoktākrameṇa rakṣaṇīyābhūt. sa tatra bhūpatiḥ varttamānaḥ.

qualities of Bhīma's character are noticed by the poet in the course of a series of verses describing his fight with Rāmapāla.[30] From these we learn that Bhīma, who by the way is here explicitly designated as King, was protector of those deserving protection; with his support the chiefs of his party were able to defend themselves from the victorious enemy; he was the seat of goddesses Sarasvatī and Lakṣmī; through him the whole world enjoyed complete prosperity and good men obtained unsolicited gifts; he possessed the charitable nature of the wish-giving tree; his numerous attendants and dependants, having won a secure position were engaged in doing good to others and vitalised the whole country; he eschewed the path of unrighteousness; in his heart dwelt the lord Śiva and His spouse; he never transgressed the bounds of propriety; he showed no inclination towards avarice; he manifested his noble purpose by pursuing the path of righteousness. A king who could extort such high praise from the enemy's partizan was not an ordinary ruler. In whatever caste he was born, he must be held to have

30 The verses are as follows:--
yamanupraviśya pānīyānāṃ pātāramekamātmīyāṃ/
kṣauṇībhṛtaḥ sapakṣā rakṣāṃ jiṣṇoradhurdviṣataḥ// 2. 21.
yasmin ratnānāmāśraye sarasvatyapi svayaṃ lakṣmīḥ/
te pārijātavājipravarakarīndrādayo'pyāsan// 2. 23.
viśvambharena lakṣmīrlebhe mṛtamapyalambhi sumanobhiḥ/
kiñca labhate sma śambhūrājānaṃ yaṃ samāsādya// 2. 24.
añjivan jagadakhilaṃ dadhataḥ pārārthyamarthino ghanāḥ/
acyutapadamadhiruhya yasya ca kalpadrumaprakṛteḥ// 2. 25.
sa bhavānīsamupeto bhujaṅgamavibhūṣitaḥ svayaṃ devaḥ/
dvijarājaketurāśinmuktāpuṇyasya yasyāntaḥ// 2. 26.
yo'tyantatoyaśobhī rañjitadigbhittirahatamaryādaḥ/
sukṛtapadavyālobhena kṛtotsāhovahan mahāśayatām// 2. 27.

deserved the regard of the whole Bengali people. To us it appears that he can be compared only with one other king of Ancient Bengal. This is Gopāla, the founder of the Pāla dynasty.

If Bhīma had been favoured with Gopāla's good fortune, he might have breathed a new life into the decayed Pāla kingdom and kindled afresh the vital spark of Bengal. It might have been given to his powerful arms to bring under control the self-seeking chiefs of Bengal and found a new dynasty broad-based upon the support of the people. In one word, the last chapter of the Ancient History of Bengal might have been written in an altogether different and more successful vein. But an inexorable destiny decreed otherwise. In the clash with the formidable forces of Rāmapāla the newly founded kingdom of Varendrī was smashed to pieces. With the slaying of Bhīma by the vengeful Pāla King vanished the last efforts to establish a kingdom indirectly based on popular will in Bengal. In this lies the greatest tragedy of Bengal history.

The epilogue.

After the downfall of the rule of Divya and Bhīma, their memories began to be blackened by the poets enjoying the patronage of the restored legitimate dynasty. The *Rāmacarita* compared Divya's occupation of Varendrī with the abduction of Sītā by the demon-King Rāvaṇa. In the Manahali copper-plate inscription of Madanapāla the conflict between Rāmapāla and Divya's subjects was likened to the struggle between the gods and the demons.[31] The Kamauli copper-plate inscription

31 The relevant verse (15) runs as follows (*JASB.*, LXIX, Part I, p. 68): —

of Vaidyadeva described Rāmapāla's recovery of Varendrī after killing Bhīma as equivalent to that of Śītā by Rāmacandra after slaying Rāvaṇa.[32] What is more, the last-named record deprived Bhīma of his royal title, designating him merely as a general (*kṣauṇīnāyaka*). When later the curtain was rung down upon the Ancient History of Bengal amid the clash of arms during a terrible political revolution, the Bengali people, naturally forgetful of their past history, began to lose all recollection of the Pāla Kings and their adversaries of Divya's line. It is strictly in accordance with historical justice that it has been left to our own times not only to recover this stirring chapter in the ancient history of our land, but also for the first time to subject the chief actors in the drama to the test of critical research.

etasyāpi sahodaro narapatirddivyaprajā-nirbhara-
kṣobhābhūata vidhūta-vāsavadhṛtiḥ śrīrāmapālo'bhavat

32 The reference is to verse 4 of the above (*Ep. Ind.*, II. p. 350): —
tene yena jagattraye janakabhūlābhād yathāvadyaśaḥ
kṣoṇī-nāyaka-bhīmarāvaṇavadhādyuddhārṇavollaṃghanāt // 4.

A RARE INDIAN TEMPLE-TYPE IN CAMBODIA

It is a well-known fact that classifications of types of temples (*prāsādas*) or of buildings in general (*vimānas*) form a conspicuous feature of the Indian treatises on Fine Arts (*Śilpa-śāstras*). The schemes of classification in these works are not uniform, but are very various, depending as they do upon different principles of grouping. There is, first, the broad division into *nāgara, drāviḍa* and *vesara,* which may roughly be rendered as 'North Indian', 'Deccan' and 'Southern' styles. This division is found not only in *Mānasāra,* the standard work on Hindu architecture, but also in such compilations as the *Suprabhedāgama,* as is shown by reference to the valuable *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture* by P. K. Acharya (*s.v. prāsāda*). The primarily geographical character of this classification is well brought out in a few verses of the recently published work, the *Śilparatna,*[1] to which sufficient attention does not appear to have been given so far. The verses[2] are as follows: —

Himavad = Vindhyayor = madhyam sāttvikam bhūtalam smṛtam |
Vindhyaśailādi-Kṛṣṇāntam rājasam parikīrttitam ||
punaḥ Kṛṣṇādi-Kanyāntam tāmasam bhūtalam bhavet |
nāgaram sāttvike deśe rājase drāviḍam bhavet ||
vesaram tāmase deśe krameṇa parikīrttitāḥ |

This may be freely rendered as follows: 'The tract between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas is one of goodness, that bet-

1 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. LXXV.
2 Pūrvabhāga Ch. XVI, 47-49.

ween the Vindhyas and the Kṛṣṇā is one of passion, while the country between the Kṛṣṇā and Cape Comorin is one of darkness. The *nāgara* style is said to prevail in the country of goodness, the *drāviḍa* style in the country of passion, and the *vesara* style in the country of darkness.'

Another important classification which the *Śilparatna*[3] shares with the *Mānasāra* is into twelve groups ranging from buildings of one storey to those of twelve storeys. Each of these is again divided into a number of sub-groups making the huge total of ninety-eight types.[4]

The chapters on architecture in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* of Varāhamihira (died 587 A.C.) as well as those of *Matsya* and *Bhaviṣya Purāṇas* have in common another system of classification relating to the division of temples (*prāsādas*) into twenty types.[5] This division is based on the joint principles of height (16, 12, 10, 9, 8, 7, 6, 5 and 2 storeys), breadth (50, 43, 34, 32, 30, 20, 16, 10, 8 and 4 cubits) and shape (those of the lion, the elephant, the bird, etc. and those having sixteen and eight angles). The curiously complex division is traced in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* to the still older work of Garga which is probably connected with the *Gārgya Saṁhitā* of which a Ms. is preserved in the Trinity College Library at Cambridge.

Yet another scheme of classification with which we are immediately concerned is found (with minor variations in the titles and descriptions of the types) in the architectural chapters of the *Agni* and the *Garuḍa Purāṇas*. In these works the temples are divided into five types, called *Vairāja*, *Puṣpaka*,

3 P. 182. 4 P. K. Acharya, *op. cit.*, *s.v. prāsāda.*

5 Refs. in *Dict. of Hindu Architecture*, *loc. cit.*

Kailāsa, Maṇika (in the *Agni Purāṇa*) [*Mālikā* in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*] and *Triviṣṭapa*. Of these the first is said to be a square (*caturaśra*), the second rectangular (*tadāyata*), the third circular (*vṛtta*), the fourth oval (*vṛttāyata*) and the last octangular (*aṣṭāśra*). Each of these five types is divided into nine sub-groups, bringing the total to forty-five.[6] The same five-fold division is reproduced in an early mediaeval work, the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* attributed to king Bhoja (probably the renowned Bhoja Paramāra of Malwa who reigned from *c.* 1010-1055 A.C.). In chapter 49 of this work we are told that the Lord Brahmā created the five classes of golden palaces (*vimānas*), *viz.*, the *vairāja*, the *kailāsa*, the *puṣpaka*, the *maṇika*, and the *triviṣṭapa* for himself, for Śiva, for Kubera, for Varuṇa, and for Indra respectively. He also made temples of stone and burnt brick of the same types for the adornment of towns. These five types are said to have the same shapes (square, rectangular, circular, oval and octangular) as the types of the *Agni* and the *Garuḍa Purāṇas*. But while the earlier works mention only forty-five sub-types, the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* raises the number to sixty-four, by dividing the *vairāja* or square type into twenty-four sub-groups and the rest into ten each.

The nine sub-types of temples comprised in the *Agni* and the *Garuḍa Purāṇas* under the head *vairāja* includes a class of which unfortunately we have different readings in different text-editions and Mss. of the same. It is called *nandaka* in the Poona edition of the *Agni Purāṇa*, while the Calcutta edition reads it as *nandika*. The Calcutta edition of the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* gives the reading *nandana*. In different Mss. of the

6 For references, see P. K. Acharya, *op. cit., s.v. prāsāda.*

Agni Purāṇa referred to in the Poona edition the readings are given as *nandaka* and *nandana*. It is a curious fact that not a single concrete reference to this type has been found in the general or epigraphical literature of India and till lately in the literature of the countries influenced by Indian culture. Happily, this want has now been supplied by a recent discovery in Cambodia. In course of his works of clearance among the group of temples at Rolûoh which belong to the reign of Indravarman I (877-889 A.C.), M. G. A. Trouvé discovered in 1932 and 1935 two inscribed foundation stèles of the temples of Práḥ Kô and Bàkoṅ. These inscriptions have since been published by M. George Cœdès in his very valuable Corpus of inscriptions of Cambodia.[7] Stanza 34 of the Bàkon inscription, which follows an enumeration of the pious acts of the king, runs as follows:—

yāsyāmi sugatim paścād=astv=ayam lokanandanaḥ|
Itī=va sa dayāviṣṭaḥ kalpayāmāsa nandikam||[7a]

What the poet intends to convey in this typical bit of *kāvya* is, as M. Cœdès has well explained,[7b] that the king built a *nandika* with the intention that it would become public after his death.

The above verse furnishes a happy instance of the way in which Indian archaeology and the archaeology of Greater India may be made to complete and supplement each other. In the first place, it definitely fixes *nandika* as the correct designation of the type of temples of which the Indian Mss. and printed editions of the *Agni* and *Garuḍa Purāṇas* have given us several variant readings. In the second place, it helps to fix the lower

7 *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Hanoi, 1937, t. 1, pp. 17-36.
7a *Op. cit.*, p. 33.
7b *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

limit of origin of this particular type of temples. If a *nandika* could be built in distant Cambodia in the latter part of the ninth century of the Christian era, its beginnings in its original Indian home may safely be traced back at least to a century earlier. It may be recalled in this connection that small flat-roofed temples consisting of a cella with a terrace in front and often surrounded by a pillared hall are characteristic of a class of shrines in the Gupta period. Interesting examples of this kind are furnished by the temple No. 17 at Sanchi as well as the ruined temples at Bhumara and Nachna-Kuthara. We may safely classify such temples under the general head *vairāja* and even, as will be shown presently, under the sub-type *nandika* or its parallels. The apsidal temples of the Gupta Age like those at Ter and Chezarla would belong to the general type *maṇika* (or *mālikā*) of the *Agni* and *Garuḍa Purāṇas*.

We may next consider whether we can identify any of the known constructions of Indravarman I of Cambodia with the sub-type *nandika*. M. Parmentier in his illuminating article on the art of Indravarman, notices[8] several characteristics of this art distinguishing it alike from the primitive and the classical Khmèr art. Among these features may be mentioned the system of isolated temples with side towers, the octagonal pillars, the decoration of entrepilasters and so forth. Frequent traces are also found of terraces in these constructions. It is easy to see that the square plan of Indravarman's buildings agrees with the general type *vairāja* above-mentioned. Indeed, when M. Parmentier distinguishes the square plan of Indravarman's build-

8 *L'art d'Indravarman* in *BEFEO.*, t. XIX, pp. 83 ff.

ings from the rectangular structure of the primitive art, we may describe the contrast in the technical language of the Indian *Śilpaśāstras.* We may say that it marked the transition from the *puṣpaka* to the *vairāja* style of architecture. The side towers and the terraces present a more interesting problem. The *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, as we have observed before, gives sixty-four sub-types (instead of the usual forty-five) of the five main groups of temples, and it adds a short description of each. One of the sub-types called *nandī* or *nanda* is described[9] as follows: —

ayam samantād-utkṣipto = vāhyā-lindaṃ vinā yadā |
madhyamā = linda-saudha (stham? stha)
karṇaprāsādakai = ścitaḥ ||
prathamā = lindagarbhau ca samutkṣiptatarau tataḥ |
syātām chādyadvaycchannauh tadā nando'
bhidhīyate ||

From the context it follows that this sub-class is taken by the author to be a modification of the one immediately described above, *viz.*, *vijaya,* which again is a simplification of the preceding type *pṛthivījaya.* As we understand this difficult and obscure text, it seems that the characteristic features of the *nanda* type (according to the above-named authority) are as follows: cella resting on four pillars (*"garbham catustambham"* of the *pṛthivījaya* type), the third and outermost terrace (*alinda*) wanting, but still raised on all four sides above the ground level, the second and the middlemost terrace covered with side-towers, the first and innermost terrace raised higher up and covered with double roofing (gabled roof?).

9 Ch. 49, vv. 89-91.

From the close similarity of names we may identify the *nandī* or *nanda* of the *Samarāṅgaṇa* with the *nandika* of the *Agni* and *Garuḍa Purāṇas*. In that case the terraces and side-towers of Indravarman's buildings would fit in with the recorded descriptions of the *nandika-nandī-nanda* in the Indian technical treatises. That king Indravarman in all his constructions was not a mere copyist is shown by two similar verses in the same Práḥ Kô and Bàkoṅ inscriptions to which we have referred above. Stanza 8 of the Práḥ Kô inscription is as follows:—

śrīmatsiṇhāsanaṃ śrīndra-yānaṃ śrīndravimānakam |
śrīndraprāsādakaṃ haimaṃ bheje yas=svadhiyā kṛtam ||

This evidently means that the king designed new types of conveyances (*yāna*), palaces (*vimāna*) and temples (*prāsāda*) which he called after his own name.

ON THE IMAGE OF LOKEŚVARA IN INDO-CHINA WITH SOME INDIAN PARALLELS

I

In the course of his luminous survey of the Lokeśvara cult in Indo-China[1] published some years back, the late lamented M. Finot had occasion to speak of the group of temples now called Nāk Pān lying on the northern outskirts of Angkor Thom. The researches of Finot and Goloubew[2] had previously demonstrated that the temple was a sanctuary of Lokeśvara erected in the middle of a tank representing the Anavatapta Lake. Among the antiquities recovered from this site were some fragments of sculpture which Finot[3] took to represent two hands holding a bowl with the neck turned towards the bottom ('quelques fragments représentant deux mains portant un vase le goulot dirigé vers le bas'). With these fragments Finot aptly compared a standing figure of Avalokiteśvara from Sarnath,[4] where the god has a *dhyānī* Buddha in *samādhi* pose placed above his head and holds with both hands a bowl in front of his breast. The only difference noticed by Finot[5] between the Indian and Indo-Chinese images was that while at Sarnath the bowl is held in its natural position, at Nāk Pān it is turned down-

1 *Lokeśvara en Indo-Chine*, in *Études Asiatiques*, tome I, pp. 227-256.

2 *Le symbolisme de Nāk Pān*, *BEFEO*., XXIII, pp. 401-5.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 248 and Pl. 23, figs. *a* and *b*.

4 Noticed in *Ann. Rep. of the Arch. Survey of India*, 1904-5, p. 82 and Pl. XXIX, *b*; also in *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath* by Dayaram Sahani, pp. 199-200 and Pl. XIV.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 249 *n*.

wards and in case of figure *a* it actually represents the flow of the liquid.

A careful scrutiny of the Nāk Pān fragments makes us hesitate to accept Finot's suggested identification. In figure *b*, it will be observed, the bowl has its lid closed which is rather an unusual pose for holding it downwards. Again in figure *a*, what is called the flow of the liquid looks more like the big stopper of a bottle. That the artists of Cambodia were not unacquainted with the natural representation of vases held downwards will appear from some reliefs on pediments of the smaller pavilions at Nāk Pān which are reproduced by Finot.[6] Here the vase held downwards is not only wanting in its lid, but the flow of the liquid is shown by long vertical lines. We have therefore to look elsewhere for explanation of these mysterious fragments.

If we turn M. Finot's photograph upside down, we at once find it to represent a bowl held upright with both hands joined in a kind of *añjali* pose (see Plate). It thus very closely approaches the Sarnath Avalokiteśvara image where similarly both the hands of the god are shown as holding the bowl in *añjali mudrā*.

Have we any clue for discovering the form of Avalokiteśvara represented in these images? In Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya's description of the 108 forms of Avalokiteśvara known to the Macchandar Vihal at Kathmandu, the varieties of Lokeśvara holding the bowl or water-pot in both hands are Vaśyādhikāra Lokeśvara (Pl. XLIV, No. 8), Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara (Pl. XLVII, No. 17), Piṇḍapātra Lokeśvara (Pl. LXI, No. 73), and Dharma-

6 *Op. cit.*, Pl. VII.



PLATE. Sculptural fragment from Nāk Pān, Cambodia [Reproduced from L. Finot's article, *Lokeçvara en Indo-Chine, Études Asiatiques, I, Pl. 23*, fig. 6, with the kind permission of the French School of the Far East.]

(To face p. 240)

dhātu Lokeśvara (Pl. LXV, No. 90).[6a] Unfortunately all these forms are shown as holding the bowl in the *samādhi* pose. Nevertheless Dr. Bhattacharya has tentatively identified[7] the Sarnath image with Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara. In favour of this identification it may be pointed out that the bowl held by the god in the Sarnath figure looks more like a vessel full of gems than a water-pot, while in the *Sādhana* texts quoted by the same scholar Nīlakaṇṭha is the only form of Lokeśvara holding a bowl of gems in both hands.[8] In the Nāk Pān fragments still more than in the Sarnath image, the bowl looks like a vessel for containing gems. We may thus tentatively identify them as belonging to the same group of Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara as the Sarnath image. It must, however, be admitted that the other attributes of the deity, such as the sacred thread made of deer skin, the absence of ornaments and the two cobras on either side, are completely wanting in the Sarnath image.

II

We shall next attempt to trace the Indian affinities of the types of Lokeśvara image noticed in the valuable paper of M. Finot above mentioned. From Finot's description it appears that the Indo-Chinese images of Lokeśvara may be iconographically arranged under the following heads:

(1) *Lokeśvara with two arms*

To this class belong (a) two stone images preserved in the Tourane Museum,[9] showing Lokeśvara with two broken fore-

6a *The Indian Buddhist Iconography, loc. cit.*

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 49 and Pl. XXIII, *e*.

8 Cf. the epithet *nānāratnaparipūrṇakapāladhāriṇām* in the *sādhana* of Nīlakaṇṭha Lokeśvara, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

9 Finot, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

arms resting upon two supports, a figure in the chignon and a frontal eye; (b) a small stone image in the Hanoi Museum, representing Lokeṣvara standing, with two arms, left broken, right holding flask, Amitābha in coiffure;[10] (c) the bronze image in the temples at Binh-thuân representing Lokeśvara with two arms holding an ewer and a lotus;[11] (d) Lokeśvara group on Nāk Pān pediments, the god standing between two personages with right hand throwing water from his flask upon the hands of a worshipper and left hand making a gesture (*mudrā*) towards a person bearing two jars of water.[12] [Similar images of Lokeśvara are found on the seven pediments of Krol Kô and also in the Ta Som temple and the small shrine east of Ta Prohm[13]]; (e) the 'Pre-Khmer image of Lokeśvara from the province of Rach-giá,[14] with two arms, left closed with a lotus bud and right opening for showing lotus flower.

(2) *Lokeśvara with four arms*

Under this category may be mentioned (a) a bronze image from Quangtri, now preserved in the Hanoi Museum; the four arms of this image hold lotus, flask, conch (?) and rosary;[15] (b) the bronze image in the two temples at Binh-Thuân;[16] (c) terracotta medallions of Quāng-binh[17] representing Lokeśvara as seated in *mahārāja-līlā* with four arms, the upper right supporting the head; (d) a stone image recovered from the ruins from Bayon by M. Parmentier;[18] here Lokeśvara stands upon lotus; Amitābha

10 *Ibid.*, p. 234.
11 *Ibid.*, p. 235.
12 *Ibid.*, p. 248.
13 *Ibid.*, pp. 249-50.
14 *Ibid.*, p. 238.
15 *Ibid.*, p. 234.
16 *Ibid.*, p. 235.
17 *Ibid.*, p. 235.
18 *Ibid.*, p. 246, Pl. v.

in chignon, the four arms holding lotus, flask, book and rosary; (e) two seated figures at Nāk Pān with four arms, one of which holds a book.[19]

(3) *Lokeśvara with eight arms*

To this class belong (a) the great image at Don Tei, the right arm holding a book (all others broken), the left holding rosary, *cakra, vajra,* lotus (?), sword, image of Buddha, etc. (b) the images on certain votive *caityas* lying between the Angkor Thom and Bantāy Chmàr sites; here the god has eight arms of which six hold lotus, rosary, book (twice?), arrow, *aṅkuśa,* while the two lowermost arms in *varadamudrā.*[20]

As for the first group it may be mentioned that the lotus bud held in the closed left hand and the same flower exhibited with open petals in the right hand are exactly the attributes of the second variety of Rakta-Lokeśvara described in three *sādhana-mālā* MSS. utilised by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya in his work *The Buddhist Indian Iconography.* The text of the *dhyāna* of this deity as quoted by Dr. Bhattacharya runs as follows[21]:— '*Raktavarṇṇam Amitābhagarbhajaṭāmukuṭadharaṃ vāmakarag-ṛhītaraktapadmaṃ tacca dakṣiṇakareṇa vikāśayantaṃ.*' Dr. Bhattacharya, after taking the above to mean that the god should carry the red lotus in the left hand and open its petals with the right admits[22] that '*vikāśayantaṃ*' in the above may also mean 'exhibiting,' in which case the god would have the lotus in both of his hands. The pre-Khmér Lokeśvara from the province of Rach-giá mentioned under class 1 (e) shows that the

19 *Ibid.*, p. 248.
20 *Ibid.*, p. 254.
21 *Op. cit.*, p. 46.
22 P. 47 *n.*

latter is the correct interpretation. In the work above-mentioned Dr. Bhattacharya was unable to discover any actual representation of the Rakta-Lokeśvara type. The Cambodian image, however, offers such a specimen. Of the group of four-armed images, the one from Bayon with the lotus, rosary, flask and book may be compared with that of Mūlavāsa-Lokanātha of Dakṣiṇāpatha which is twice illustrated in Foucher's *Catalogue*[23] Nos. I 25 and I 27. The description of this figure by Foucher is as follows:—'No. 25. (*Dakṣiṇāpathe Mūl—?)pavāsa-Lokanāthaḥ āriṣasthāna*. Bodh. blanc, debout, à quatre bras: 1° inférieurs: m.d. en geste qui rassure, m.g. tenant le lotus et le flacon: 2° supérieurs: m.d. tenant le rosaire. m.g. le livre...'. 'No. 27: *Dakṣiṇāpathe Mūlavāsa- Lokanāthaḥ*: Identique à la min. I, 25 [above] sauf le rosaire de la m. supérieure d. oublié.' Slightly different from the above is the figure (No. I, 36) labelled *Daṇḍabhuktau Yajñapiṇḍī-Lokanāthaḥ* whose description is as follows: Bodh. blanc, à quatre bras: 1°. inferieurs. m.d. en charité, m.g. tenant le flacon (?), 2° supérieurs: m.d. tenant le rosaire, m.g. le lotus rose...'. Probably the Indo-Chinese stêles with lotus, rosary, book and indistinct object belong to the same class, Among the 108 forms of Avalokiteśvara represented in the Macchandar Vihal of Kathmandu[24] there is none which is exactly similar to the above. But we have one form[25] which approaches the same. This is known as Jaṭā-

23 *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde d'après des documents nouveaux*, Paris 1900, App. 1

24 Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography mainly based on the Sādhanamālā and other cognate Tantric texts of Rituals.* Appendix B.

25 See Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *op. cit*, No. 12. and Pl. XLV.

mukuṭa Lokeśvara. In this form the god has one head with the effigy of Amitābha appearing above; he has four arms, the upper right holding rosary, the lower right in *varadamudrā*, the upper left a lotus stalk, and the lower left a water-pot.

The Indo-Chinese type of four-armed images with rosary, book, *vara* and *bhumiśparsa mudrā* has no match in any Indian example. But the Eastern Indian School knows a type with the attributes rosary, book or water-vessel, *vara* and *lotus*.[26] The same type is represented in Foucher's *Catalogue* I, 23 under the caption *Suvarṇṇapure Śrivijayapure Lokanātha āriṣasṭhāna*. This is described[27] as follows:—'Bodh. blance, debout, à quatre bras: 1° inférieurs: m.d. en charité, m.g. repliée tenant le lotus; 2° supérieurs: m.d. tenant le rosaire, m.g. le livre; à sa d. autre lotus...'. A slightly different type is known to the Eastern School with the attributes rosary, *vara*, *kamaṇḍalu* and lotus.[28]

Of the Indo-Chinese type of Lokeśvara with eight arms, it has not been found possible to observe an Indian parallel.

26 R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Mediaeval Sculpture*, p. 88 and the references there given.

27 *Op. cit.*, p. 193.

28 Kramrisch, *Pāla and Sena Sculptures*, Fig. XLVIII.

THE VEDIC CEREMONIES OF ROYAL AND IMPERIAL CONSECRATION AND THEIR CONSTITUTIONAL SIGNIFICANCE

Introductory

Among the immense mass of ceremonies comprised in the Vedic sacrificial ritual, four are singled out in several *śrautasūtra* texts[1] as the Kṣatriya's (or the King's) sacrifices. These are the Rājasūya, the Aśvamedha, the Puruṣamedha and the Sarvamedha. Of these the Puruṣamedha (or "human sacrifice") and still more the Sarvamedha (or "all-sacrifice"), it has been shown, were more or less of the nature of later priestly inventions modelled on the genuine *Śrauta* sacrifices.[2] As regards the Aśvamedha which *ŚB.* (XIII. 2. 2. 1) significantly calls 'the King of sacrifices', its performance necessarily lay within the competence of a ruler of undisputed supremacy.[3] In analysing

1 *Vait. Sūtra* XXXVIII. 15 with which Caland (*Das Vaitānasūtra des Atharvaveda,* Amsterdam 1910, p. 113) compares *Baudh. Karmāntasūtra* I. 11:—*atha rājayajñā rājasūyo'śvamedhaḥ puruṣamedhaḥ sarvamedhaḥ* etc. With the *Vait. Sūtra* text Eggeling similarly compares (*SBE.* Vol XLIV. Introd. p. xvii) *Mahābh.* XIV. 48 where Vyāsa specially recommends these four sacrifices for performance by Yudhiṣṭhira as king. See also *VŚS.* III. 3. 1. 1: *rājño rājasūyaḥ.*

2 Cf. Eggeling, *SBE.* XLIV. Introd. pp. xliv-xlv: Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanisads,* pp. 347-48.

3 Cf. *TB.* III. 8. 9. 4 where we read, "Verily, poured away is he who, being weak, performs the Aśvamedha (*parā ha vā eṣa sicyate yo'balo'śvmadhena yajate*). Indicative of the high standing of the Rājasūya is the fact that the texts of different schools agree in glorifying it with the epithet Varuṇasava (meaning according to Sāyaṇa the consecration to the universal sway exercised

the principles of Vedic consecration ceremonies, therefore, we must rely mainly upon the Rājasūya texts, although for purpose of completing our survey we shall notice the ritual of the Vājapeya sacrifice to which the Brāhmaṇa along with the Kṣatriya is entitled.[4]

The Rājasūya

The fullest account of the Rājasūya has been handed down to us in a number of *Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas* as well as *Śrautasūtras* of the Yajus school.[5] From the statement in one of these *Śrautasūtra* texts[6] it appears that the Rājasūya ceremony was of several varieties. Indeed *A.B.*, (VIII 5-23), while omitting

by Varuṇa). See, e.g., *TS.* V. 6. 2. 1; *TB.* II. 7. 6. 1, *ŚB.* V. 4, 3, 2 & 21. Also cf. *ŚŚŚ* XV. 12, 1-5 which states how Varuṇa desiring to attain supremacy (*śraiṣṭhyam svārājyam-ādhipatyam*) performed the Rājasūya and directs one desiring the same to perform the same ceremony.

4 Jayaswal (*Hindu Polity,* Pt. II. p. 14) introduces his elaborate analysis of constitutional ceremonies of the Brāhmaṇa period with the following words:—"In the *Śrutis* (*sic*) there are three ceremonies for consecrating heads of Society. There is the first and foremost the Rājasūya,......there is secondly the Vājapeya......and thirdly there is the Sarvamedha.' This view ignores the authority of the *sūtra* texts above quoted which include the *Aśvamedha* and the Puruṣamedha in the list of royal sacrifices. On the other hand the Vājapeya, as Jayaswal himself admits, did not originally partake of a political nature and was only afterwards adopted for royal and religious consecration. Jayaswal, finally, in taking Sarvamedha to be "an exceptional ceremony performed by Emperors" attaches to it greater reality than is warranted by the texts.

5 See *V.S.* IX. 35.—X. 34, *ŚB.* V. 2. 2-5. 5. and *KŚS.* XV. 1-10 (for White Yajus ritual) and *KŚ.* XV. 1-10. *MS.* II. 6. 1-13, IV. 3. 1-4. 10 (*khilakāṇḍa*), *T.S.* I. 8. 1-21 and *TB.* I. 6. 1-8; 10 and *Āp. ŚS.* XVIII. (for Black Yajus ritual). For references to Rājasūya in other schools, see *B.ŚS.* XII. *Ā.ŚS.* IX 3-4, and *ŚSS.* XV. 13-27, as also *PB.* XVIII. 8-11 and *LŚS.* IX. 1-3 finally *Vait. S.* XXXVI. 1-13.

6 See *A.ŚS.*, *uttaraṣaṭka* III. 3 introducing and concluding its account of the Rājasūya with the words *atha rājasūyāḥ* and *iti rājasūyāḥ* respectively.

all mention of the Rājasūya, describes two unique forms of royal consecration known respectively as *Aindramahābhiṣeka* ("the great consecration of Indra") and *Punarabhiṣeka* ("renewed consecration"). In the present Essay we propose to consider, first and foremost, the significance of the ritual as described in the Yajus texts and afterwards that of the *A.B.* ritual.

Sacrificers' status before consecration

In proceeding to analyse the constitutional principles underlying the Rājasūya, we are confronted at the outset with the question of the sacrificer's status before consecration. From the fact that "the King-elect" (*sic.*) is designated as "he" before the sprinkling ceremony and only called 'King' thereafter, Jayaswal[7] concludes that "he becomes invested with the royal office and powers" only after the completion of the ceremony and is "an ordinary citizen" before that time. If this were so, the consecration of the King would be an act of profound constitutional importance for the reason of investing a private citizen with the royal status. In examining this view we shall do well to admit in the first instance that the sacrificer is presented to the assembled folk as King only after his consecration. On the other hand the authoritative texts of the Yajus as well as other schools agree in the view that the performer of the Rājasūya is already a King.[8] It remains to add that the epithet "King-'

7 *Op. cit.*, Pt. II. p. 15.

8 Cf. *KŚS.* XV. 1 (*rājño rājasūyo'niṣṭhino vājapeyena*); *LŚS.* IX. 1 (*rājā rājasūyena yajeta*) on which Agni-svāmin comments *prāptābhiṣeko kṣatriyo rājasūyena yajeta.* Also cf. *Man. ŚS.* cited in Deva's commentary on *KŚS.* XV. 1. 5 (quoted in Weber *Über den Rājasūya*, p. 8):—*rājā rājyakāmo rājasūyena yajeta*, Weber also compares (p. 8 *n*) *Vaitāna S.* XLIII. 40.

LISTS OF *RATNINS* AT THE *RATNAHAVĪMṢI*

TS. I. 8. 9. I ff.	*MS.* II. 6. 5; IV. 3. 8.	*KS.* XV. 4.	*ŚB.* V. 3. I. ff.	*TB.* I. 7. 3.
1. *Brahman*	1. *Brahman*	Same as	1. *Senānī*	1. *Brahman*
2. *Rājanya*	2. *Rājanya*	*MS.* with	2. *Purohita*	2. *Rājanya*
3. *Mahiṣī*	3. *Mahiṣī*	omission of	3. *Mahiṣī*	3. *Mahiṣī*
('Chief Queen')	4. *Parivṛktī*	*Takṣan* and	4. *Sūta*	4. *Vāvāta*
4. *Parivṛktī*	5. *Senānī*	*Rathakāra*	5. *Grāmaṇī*	5. *Parivṛktī*
('neglected wife')	6. *Saṃgrahītṛ*	and subs-	6. *Kṣattṛ*	6. *Senānī*
5. *Senānī*	7. *Kṣattṛ*	titution of	7. *Saṃgrahītṛ*	7. *Sūta*
('leader of the host')	8. *Sūta*	*Govyacha*	8. *Bhāgadugha*	8. *Grāmaṇī*
6. *Sūta*	9. *Vaiśyagrāmaṇī*	(with variant	9. *Akṣāvāpa*	9. *Kṣattṛ*
('minstrel')	10. *Bhāgadugha*	readings) for	10. *Gonikartana*	10. *Saṃgrahītṛ*
7. *Grāmaṇī*	11 & 12 *Takṣan*	*Govikarta*	11. *Pālāgala*	11. *Akṣāvāpa*
('village headman')	('carpenter')		('courier')	12. *Bhāgadugh*
8. *Kṣattṛ*	& *Rathakāra*			
('carver')	('chariot-maker')			
9. *Saṃgrahītṛ*	13 & 14 *Akṣāvāpa*			
('charioteer')	& *Govikarta*			
10. *Bhāgadugha*	('huntsman')			
('divider')				
11. *Akṣāvāpa*				
('thrower of the dice')				

(To face p. 249)

elect" applied by Jayaswal to the Rājasūya sacrificer is a gratuitous assumption. For we have hardly any positive evidence of elective monarchy in Yajus Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa times.

Ratnahavīṃṣi

Of the complex of rites included in the Rājasūya we have first to mention the unique ceremony of the *ratnahavīṃṣi* ("Jewel-offerings"), occurring among the preliminaries of the sacrifice. This consists in the King's making offerings to the appropriate deities on successive days at the houses of several specified persons. The lists of these persons according to the different texts are given in the accompanying chart.

In the above lists it will be seen that the Brahman priest (*Purohita* in *ŚB.*), the Chief Queen and the officers severally called *senānī, sūta, grāmaṇī, kṣattṛ, saṃgrahītṛ, bhāgadugha* and *akṣāvāpa* are common to all. To this central group, as it may be called, are added *rājanya* and *parivṛktī* according to all Black Yajus texts, while *MS.* and *KS.* further add *govyacha* (or *govikarta*) and *TB.* the *vāvāta*, the *MS.* making yet further additions of *takṣan* and *rathakāra.* On the other hand *ŚB.*, while substituting the sacrificer himself for the *rājanya*, adds *gonikartana* and *pālāgala.* It is difficult to account for the omission in all these lists of the royal princes who figure in other parts of the Rājasūya ritual.[9] Whatever that may be, we may conveniently arrange the names under several groups. We have, first, the Brahman-*purohita,* then the Queen (or Queens) and further, the group of officers of the royal court and household

9 For the son's part see *ŚB.* v. 4. 2-8; for the brother's part see *ibid.* v. 4. 4. 16-17.

down to the meanest ones. The *rājanya* in all the Black Yajus texts and the *takṣan-rathakāra* in *MS*. probably indicate an attempt to apply the principle of representation to the class of nobles and the most favoured section of the common freemen respectively.

What then is the constitutional significance of the above ceremony? According to Jayaswal[10] it involves the sacrificer's 'worship' of the personages concerned, including not only the King's wives and the ministers, but also 'the headman of the village corporation' and 'the conquered helot.' But in fact the worship is offered by the sacrificer to the appropriate deities in each case.[11] In truth the texts themselves leave us in no doubt about the significance of the ceremony. *MS*. IV. 3. 8., in introducing its description, applies to *ratnins* the epithet of 'limbs of the ruling power' and observes that the kingdom of one whose *ratnins* are full of strength and vigour becomes strong and vigorous.[12] More emphatic is the testimony of *TB*., I. 7. 3. I which states that the ratnins are 'the givers' as well as 'the takers' of the kingdom and as such they bestow the kingdom upon the sacrificer.[13] In thorough accord with the above is the explanation of *ŚB*., (V. 3. I. I-12) mentioned in connection with each of the

10 *Op. cit.*, Pt. II. pp. 16 ff.

11 It is worth stating that Jayaswal subsequently *ibid.*, p. 22 tones down his statement so far as to take the whole procedure to "symbolise the obtainment (*sic*) of the approval of the differentiated organs of Government" for the sacrificer's consecration to kingship.

12 *kṣatrasya vā etanyāṅgāṇi yasya vā etāni tejasvīni bhavanti tadrāṣṭraṃ tejasvī bhavati.*

13 *ete vai rāṣṭrasya pradātāraḥ ete pādātāraḥ/ya eva rāṣṭrasya pradātāraḥ ye pādātāraḥ ta evāsmai rāṣṭraṃ prayacchanti/rāṣṭrameva bhavati.*

ratnins, viz. that he (or she) assuredly is one of the King's jewels (*ratnas*) and that it is for him (or her) that he is thereby consecrated and him (or her) he makes his own faithful follower. According to the above view, then, the group of persons aforesaid, viz. the priest, the queen, the officials and the class (or caste) representatives, are endowed with such high constitutional status as to deserve the epithets of 'limbs of the ruling power' and bestowers of the kingdom. The object of the ceremony, accordingly, is to win for the King the allegiance of these important personages. On the strength of this description of a mere sacrificial routine and in the absence of more concrete data, it would of course be improper to draw any definite conclusions about the actual constitutional powers exercised by the above persons in the Vedic State . We may, however, point out how another Brāhmaṇa passage, quite independently of the sacrificial formula, corroborates the high constitutional position enjoyed at this period by some of the *ratnins*. We refer to *PB.*, XIX. 1. 4 giving a list of eight *vīras* ('persons of distinction') among whom, as we are told, the King is consecrated and who sustain the kingdom. This list consists of the King's brother, the King's son, the *purohita*, the Chief Queen, the *sūta*, the *grāmaṇī*, the *kṣattṛ* and the *saṃgrahītṛ*, of whom all but the first two are found also in the *ratnin* lists.

Coming to individual names, we find that the *Brahman* priest occupies the first place in all the *ratnin* lists with the exception of *ŚB.*, where the *purohita* (his equivalent) is given the second position. Of the dominant position occupied by this functionary, we have evidence in other Vedic texts, notably in *AB.*, VIII. 24-28. where in course of a long eulogy of the *Puro-*

hita's office he is called *rāṣṭragopa* ('protector of the kingdom'). It is, however, noticeable that in the *ŚB.* list the *purohita* comes after the *senānī*, just as in the *PB.* list of *vīras* above mentioned, he comes after the king's brother and son. It, therefore, follows that while the majority of priestly authorities agree in assigning the highest position in the Vedic State to the representative of the holy power, others give this place to purely secular personages. The Vedic State, then, even according to the views of the priestly authors themselves, was not uniformly dominated by the spiritual power.

We now come to the Chief Queen and other Queens of lesser rank. Jayaswal[14] explains their inclusion in the *ratnin* list on "the principle of completing the spiritual self of the King-elect", which is expressed in the *ŚB.* formula of the sacrificer's mounting the post along with his wife at the Vājapeya. In this view of the case the Queen's participation in the Rājasūya would be entirely assimilated to that of the wife at any other *Śrauta* sacrifice. Not only, however, is the above description of the *ratnins* decisive about the character of the ceremony as a State function, but *MS.* (IV. 3. 8), explaining the offering at the houses of the *Mahīṣi* and the *Parivṛktī*, definitely says that he thereby makes them an object of subsistence among the subjects.[15] Moreover the *vīras* of *PB.*, among whom the Chief Queen is included, are expressly described as sustaining the kingdom. We have, therefore, no other choice than to accept the position that the Chief Queen and other queens occupied a high official status

14 *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

15 *imāmevainaṃ prajābhya upajīvanīyaṃ karoti.*

in the Vedic State. It will be noticed that in all the lists the Chief Queen comes immediately after the *Brahman* priest and the *rājanya* (in *ŚB*. after the *senānī*, the *purohita* and the sacrificer), while the queens of lesser rank come immediately thereafter.

Coming to the *rājanya* (prince or noble) who takes the second place in all the Black Yajus texts and the *takṣan* (carpenter) and *rathakāra* (chariot-maker) who are placed almost at the end in the *MS*. list, we have to state that they evidently stand for representatives of the corresponding classes (or castes). We may trace the political importance of these classes with some certainty as far back as *AV*. times. In *AV*. III. 5. 6-7 skilled chariot-makers and smiths, *rājans* and *rājakṛts*, *sūtas* and *grāmaṇīs* are expressly specified among the persons whom a King at his consecration desires to make his dependents (*upasti*). The *rājans* and *rājakṛts* of this passage are probably represented by the *rājanya* of the *ratnin* lists, while the chariot-makers and smiths evidently have their representatives in the individual *takṣan* and *rathakāra* of the same list. While the high constitutional position of the *rājanya* does not require any explanation, that of the two artisan classes is an index of the status assigned to industry in the Vedic State. Whatever that may be, we have in this particular ceremony of the Rājasūya an undoubted reference to the principle of representation of classes, of which we shall notice other examples in the sequel. We may probably detect in the substitution (which indeed is almost meaningless in the present context) of the sacrificer for the *rājanya* in the *ŚB*. list and inclusion of the *takṣan* and *rathakāra* in *MS*., a certain amount of priestly manipulation so as to limit in the

one place and to extend in the other the principle of political representation.

We come now to the last group of *ratnins* consisting of specified officers of the royal court and household. As for the *senānī* (commander-in-chief) it will be observed that with the single exception of *ŚB.* which places him at the head of the list, all other texts agree in assigning him a position below the *Brahman*, the *Rājanya* and the Queen (or queens). With this we may compare the omission (strange as it may seem) of the *senānī* from the list of eight *vīras* who according to *PB.*, sustain the kingdom and also from the group of persons to whom the sacrificial sword is successively passed round at a later stage of the Rājasūya ritual. Clearly, therefore, in the eyes of these authors the military branch of the administration held the subordinate place in comparison with the civil. The Vedic State, according to this view, was the reverse of a *Kriegstaat*. The *sūta* and the *grāmaṇī* along with the *kṣattṛ* are known from *RV.* and *AV.* times, unlike the *saṃgrahītṛ* and *bhāgadugha* who are mentioned for the first time in the Yajus Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. That the *sūtas* and *grāmaṇīs* occupied a distinctive position in the State from early times is proved by the *AV.* text above quoted, where they are included among the persons whom the newly consecrated King expressly desires to be made subject to him. In the reference to the individual *sūta*, *grāmaṇī* and other officers of the *ratnin* list as also in the undermentioned ceremony of the passing round of the sacrificial sword, we may probably detect a fresh application of the principle of representation in the Vedic polity.[16]

16 According to Jayaswal, (*op. cit.*, Pt. I. pp. 20-21) the *ratnins* were

Devasūhavīṃṣi

The central ceremony of the Rājasūya, viz. the *abhiṣecanīya*, begins with offerings to a number of deities, the so-called 'Divine Quickeners' (Eggeling) [otherwise translated as 'Gods that instigate the Gods (Keith)] (*Devasūs*), and it ends with a game of dice. In the formula accompanying the *devasū* oblations, which is common to all schools,[17] the gods Savitṛ, Agni, Soma, Rudra, Bṛhaspati, Indra, Varuṇa and the like, dignified with appropriate epithets, are invoked to quicken the sacrificer for various kinds of authority. In the Black Yajus texts[18] the sacrificer immediately follows with the words:—

'This kingdom hath verily been conferred'.

"high functionaries of the state selected on the principle of class and caste representation" and corresponding to the *rājakṛts* (or kingmakers) of the *AV.* passage above cited. Now while the *takṣan* and the *rathakāra* of the *ratnin* list were probably representatives of the *karmāras* and *rathakāras* of the *AV.* text, they cannot be proved to have been State functionaries." The same objection evidently applies to the Chief Queen and other queens included in the list of *ratnins*. Again, while the *Purohita* and the *grāmaṇī* were doubtless of the Brāhmaṇa and Vaiśya caste respectively, we have no indication of the caste to which the others belonged. Further we do not know on what grounds the *akṣāvāpa* and *govikarta* evidently belonging to the lowest grade of officers are styled 'High Functionaries.' Even admitting that these last two were Śūdras, we cannot take their inclusion to signify, as Jayaswal does, a great constitutional change, namely "the express recognition of the Śūdra as a part of Society." Even in *AV.* we have passages (e.g. XIX 32. 8 and *Ibid.* 62) expressing the desire to be dear to the Śūdra as well as to the Ārya. Finally since the *AV.* passage mentions *rājānaḥ rājākartāraḥ* side by side with *sūtas* and *grāmaṇīs*, it is difficult to understand how these officers could be said along with others, to be "the old *rājakṛts*, the kingmakers."

17 *TS.* I. 8. 10; *KS.* XV. 5-8; *MS.* II. 6. 6, *VS.* IX. 39-40; *TB.* I. 7. 4; *ŚB.* V. 3. 3. 3-12 etc.

18 *TS.* I. 8. 10; *Āp. ŚS.* XVIII. 12. 1-10 etc.

Explaining the above ceremony, *ŚB.*, v. 3. 3. 6 & 9 states *inter alia* that thereby Indra Jyeṣṭha leads him to *Jaiṣṭhya* ('lordship' or 'eminence') and Varuṇa Dharmapati makes him *dharmapati* (lord of the law).

Concluding its explanation on the last point, *ŚB.* says,

"That truly is the supreme state (*paramatā* in the original) where one is lord of the law, for whosover attains to the supreme state to him they come in matters of law."[19]

In the above extract it will be seen that two specific forms (or aspects) of royal authority viz. *Jyaiṣṭya* and *Paramatā* are expressly sought to be derived in the White Yajus text from divine favour. The Black Yajus texts more directly derive the kingdom (*rājya*) from the same source. We find it therefore difficult to agree with the explanation of the foregoing formula given by Jayaswal in another context,[20] viz. that "the gods might give him virtues for national rule, but they could not give him kingship of the land". Elsewhere, however, as we shall see later, the Yajus Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa texts, explaining the Rājasūya ritual imply the kingship to be derived from non-divine sources and invoke for it protection by the subjects.

In the passage of the *ŚB.* just quoted relating to Varuṇa Dharmapati, Jayaswal detects[21] the deliberate formulation of a new theory of legal administration. "The sacred formula," he says, "only contemplates the protection of the law as a necessary duty of the king, but the commentator takes it in the sense

19 In the above Eggeling translates Indra Jyeṣṭha as 'Indra the most excellent' and '*jyaiṣṭhya*' as 'excellence' or 'lordship.' Keith translates Indra jyeṣṭhānāṃ as 'Indra of the nobles.' In the corresponding *Āp. ŚS.* passage XVIII. 12. 6 Caland translates *jyeṣṭānām* as 'über die Ansehnlichsten.' *Dharmapati* is translated by Eggeling as 'lord of the law' and by Keith as 'lord of right.'

20 *Op. cit.*, Pt. II; p. 24.

21 *Op. cit.*, Pt. II p. 23.

that one of the chief features of a full-fledged State must be that the law is administered by the king or his officers. The old theory had been that the law of the community was administered by the community," It must, however, be remembered that the Vedic king's control over the administration of criminal justice has been traced back to *RV.*, and *AV.* passages mentioning spies (*spaśaḥ*) of Varuṇa and other deities. Probably the *ŚB.* passage belongs to the developed stage of the Vedic polity when the King's Justice prevailed over all private jurisdictions.

We may next notice the significance of the several forms of authority with which the sacrificer is sought to be invested in the above-mentioned formula of Invocation of the Divine Quickeners. In *TS.*, I. 8. 10 the priest prays that the sacrificer may be quickened *amitrāya mahate kṣatrāya mahate ādhipatyāya mahate jānarājyāya*. Similarly *MS.*, II. 6.6, giving the *mantra* for the *devasū* oblations, invokes the gods to quicken him for *asapatnaṃ mahate kṣatrāya mahate jānarājyāya*. Slightly different from the above is the formula of *VS.*, IX. 40:—[1]—

> *asapatnām mahate kṣatrāya mahate jyaiṣṭhyāya mahate jānarājyāya* etc.

The *amitrāya* ('for freedom from foes') of the first list is the same as *asapatnaṃ* ('without a rival') of the other two, while *jyaiṣṭhya* of the third list is identical with the *ādhipatya* of the first, both meaning 'lordship' or 'over-lordship'. *Jānarājya*, common to all the three lists, is translated by Eggeling as 'man-rule' and by Keith as 'rule over the people'. We suggest it to mean 'rule over the whole folk' as distinguished from 'rule over the single tribe'. Vedic monarchy, then, at its

highest was held to involve not only undisputed authority, but also the rule over a complex of tribes.

In the same invocation formula the king is referred to as 'the son (or descendant) of such a man and the son of such a woman' (*VS*. IX. 40, *MS*. II. 6. 6.), as 'the descendant of such a man' (*TS*., I. 8. 10) and so forth. This illustrates one of the fundamental characteristics of the Vedic State, namely the human origin of kingship. The king is here described simply by the names of his parents, and not the slightest attempt is made on such a solemn occasion to trace back his ancestry to the gods. Not inconsistent with this view is the fact that elsewhere, as we shall see later, *ŚB*. identifies the royal sacrificer directly with Indra, or even declares him to be a visible form of Prajāpati.

In the concluding stage of the *devasū* offerings the priest presents the sacrificer to the assembled folk with the words:

> 'This is your King, ye (people): Soma is the King of us Brāhmaṇas'.[22]

The same formula is repeated in *VS*., X. 18 relating to the besprinkling of the sacrificer and with slight variants in *TS*. I. 8. 12, *KS*. XV. 7, *MS*. II. 6. 9 connected with the ceremony of preparation of the sacred waters, these two ceremonies forming part of the later Rājasūya ritual. In this unequivocal assertion of the Brāhmaṇa's independence of the earthly king, we can probably trace the transference to the political sphere of those general ideas of social and religious pre-eminence of this class which are frequently met with in the Yajus Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. It is, however, characteristic of the weak organisa-

22 The above verse occurs in *VS*. IX. 40. For 'people' variant forms are substituted in *TS*. I. 8. 10, *KS*. XV 5-8; *MS*. II. 6. 6 27; *TB*. I. 7. 4 etc.

tion of the Brahmanical order and not less of its mentality that the only corollary drawn by *ŚB.* from its explanation of the corresponding *VS.* text is the claim of immunity of the Brāhmaṇa's property.[23] This claim is supported by several incidental references in the same Brāhmana,[24] and it afterwards becomes a fundamental axiom of public finance in the Smṛti-Arthaśāstra State.

A very different interpretation of the above formula is given by Jayaswal in the work we have quoted so often.[25] "The King", he says, "is consecrated as King of the whole people including the Brahmins and the priest expresses this by calling him Soma." The explanation of the *ŚB.*, "which marks the last stage of the *Brāhmaṇa* period", is "questionable", since it is "inconsistent with the existence of the indicative 'this' (*esha*), the naming of the people or nation and the homage when the Brahman resigns his privilege in the person of the King." [Here follows the reference to *VS.*, x. 28 to be noticed below]. Now the antithesis between *vo* ('your') or *te* ('ye') and *asmākam* ('our') in the above formula, which is common to all schools, clearly establishes the claim of Soma's sovereignty over Brāhmaṇas independently of the king's sovereignty. The naming of the people to which Jayaswal refers makes no difference, as they are similarly contrasted with the Brāhmaṇas. The indepen-

23 Cf. *ibid.* v. 4. 2. 3:—"This man, O ye people, is your king, Soma is the king of us Brāhmaṇas!' He thereby causes everything here to be food for him (the king); the Brāhmaṇa alone he excepts; therefore the Brāhmaṇa is not to be fed upon, for he has Soma for his king."

24 Cf. *ibid.* XIII. 6. 2. 18; 7. 1. 13 etc. stating that when the king gives all land to the priests, the gift does not cover the property of the Brāhmaṇa.

25 *Op. cit.*, pt. II., pp. 31-33.

dence of the Brāhmaṇas, however theoretical it might be, is hinted at in *ŚB*. in connection with a later Rājasūya ritual. We refer to its explanation of the *mantra* of the *rathavimocanīya* ('unyoking of the chariot') offerings. There we read that the sacrificer's kingship is thereby rendered free (i.e. unopposed) over the *kṣatra* (nobility) as well as the *Viś* (people)—a passage where one cannot fail to notice the striking omission of the Brāhmaṇa. As for the *VS AB* and other texts quoted by Jayaswal—the explanation of the late *TS* commentary by Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara does not appear in this connection to be of much account—their contrary statements about the subordination of the Brahmaṇas to the King do not by themselves invalidate the clear reference in the formula of all the Yajus Saṃhitā schools.

Preparation of waters for Consecration

After the *Devasū* oblations comes the ceremony of collection of waters of various kinds (significantly called 'bestowers of the kingdom') for the purpose of the King's consecration. Explaining the reference to different kinds of waters, *ŚB* (v. 3. 4. 5 ff.) says *inter alia* that the King is thereby made the lord as well as the offspring of the people.[26] Again it says,

> 'And so there is in his kingdom even one belonging to some other kingdom and even that man from another kingdom he absorbs.'[27]

Here in the first place we are introduced to the conception of the king's double relation to his people. This is based upon the two-fold principle of authority and of direct origin from the people. With the first and more characteristic principle we may

26 *Viśamevainametat patim karoti......Viśamevainametad garbham karoti.*
27 *api ha vā'syānyarāṣṭrīyo rāṣṭre bhavatyapanyarāṣṭrīyamavaharate.*

match *ŚB.*, XI. 2. 7. 16 declaring that Brahma and Kṣatra are established upon the Viś, while the second has its parallel in *ibid.*, XII. 7. 3. 8 stating that *Kṣatra* is produced from out of the *Viś*. In the second place the reference to the absorption of men of some other kingdom probably hints at the practice, for which analogy is found in Anglo-Saxon history, of the King's drawing upon foreign residents for his band of retainers.

After the collection of the secred waters the priest offers oblations (called after Pṛthin Vainya "the first consecrated of men") to twelve deitics, namely, Agni, Indra, Varuṇa and so forth. *ŚB.*, V. 3. 5. 5-9, in the course of its explanation of the corresponding formula (*VS.*, X. 5), identifies Bṛhaspati and Soma with Brahma and Kṣatra respectively and it says that the priest thereby sprinkles (endows) the sacrificer with Brahma and Kṣatra respectively. Here we have one of those numerous references to the influence of the spiritual and temporal powers in the Vedic State, which are found in the Yajus Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas.

After the *Partha* oblations just mentioned the sacrificer puts on various garments symbolising the development of an embryo till it reaches maturity. The priest then strings for him a bow, the symbol of his princely rank. Explaining this formula (*VS.*, X. 8), *ŚB.* V. 3. 5. 27 utters the dictum referred to elsewhere, namely that the sacrificer is Indra in a two-fold way, both as a Kṣatriya and as a sacrificer. The same maxim is repeated in *ŚB.*, V. 4. 3. 4 & 7 explaining a *mantra* (*VS.*, X. 21)—where indeed the King calls himself Arjuna (an epithet of Indra)—used for the sacrificer's taking down the chariot from the stand and mounting the same at a later stage of the sacrifice. The Vedic

King, in other words, is identified with the typical Indo-Aryan deity not merely through the sacrifice, but by virtue of his very birth.

The above ceremony is followed by a series of formulas (the so-called '*Āvid* formulas') announcing the King to Agni, Indra, Pūṣan, Mitra, Varuṇa, Sky and Earth, Aditi. This formula is preceded in the White Yajus text (*VS.*, x. 9) by the announcement of the sacrificer to mortals. In the Black Yajus texts (*TS.*, I. 8. 12, *KS.*, xv. 7, *MS.*, II. 6. 9, *TB.*, I. 7. 6. 7, *Āp. ŚS.*, XVIII. 12, 7 etc.) it is followed by his announcement by name and parentage and tribe (*viś*), and it ends with the formula mentioned elsewhere, namely that while the sacrificer is the King of the people concerned, Soma is the King of the Brāhmaṇas. Explaining this formula with reference to Agni and Indra, *ŚB.*, v. 3. 5. 32-33 identifies these deities with Brahma and Kṣatra respectively, and it observes that thereby Brahma and Kṣatra approve of his consecration and approved by them he is consecrated. Here we have one more reference to the dominant influence of the two powers in the Vedic State, of which we have spoken above.

We have just observed that the *Āvid* formulas of the Black Yajus texts refer to the sacrificer by the name of his tribe (*viś*).[28] This method of announcement is also adopted in the White

28 *Āp. ŚS.* XVIII 12. 7 explains this point by a number of examples:—
athainam ratnibhya āvedayatyeṣa vo bharatā rājeti|
eṣa vaḥ kuravo rājeti kauravyaṃ|
eṣa vaḥ pañcāla rājeti pāñcālaṃ|
eṣa vaḥ kurupañcālā rājeti vā kurupāñcālān|
eṣa vo janatā rajetyanyān rājñaḥ|

Yajus formula relating to the concluding stage of the *Devasū* oblations, to which reference has been made above.[29] It therefore follows that the Vedic State at the time of the formulation of the *mantra* was yet in the tribal stage. We have, however, a striking variant of the above formula in *TS.*, I. 8. 12 where we read that the King is notified 'in this folk (*viś*), in this kingdom (*rāṣṭra*)'. This would suggest that some of the Vedic States at any rate had already emerged from the tribal to the territorial stage.[29a]

Mounting of the Quarters

At the close of the above ceremony the King figuratively mounts the four quarters and the zenith to symbolise his assumption of universal sovereignty. In the accompanying formula which is common to both Yajus schools,[30] the appropriate metres, chants, *stomas*, seasons ('deities' in the Black Yajus ritual) along with Brahma, Kṣatra, Viś and (instead of the Śūdra) other objects,[31] are invoked successively to protect the sacrificer.

29 So strongly was the tradition fixed in the White Yajus ritual that *KŚS.* XV. 4. 17 prescribes adherence to the tribal name on the ground that no rule is laid down regarding the name of the kingdom *yasyāśca jāte rājā bhavati deśasyānavasthitatvāt.*

29a In another remarkable passage (II. 3) *TS.* not only distinguishes between the tribal and territorial kingships but treats the latter as the completion of the former. Here we are told that the king by partial performance of a rite attains the people (*viś*), but not the kingdom (*rāṣṭra*), while he attains both by its full performance.

30 *VS.* X. 10-14, *TS.* I. 8. 13, *KS.* XV. 7, *MS.* II. 6. 10.

31 *Phala* and *Varcas* ('fruit' and 'lustre') in *VS.*, '*bala*' and '*varcas*' (host and lustre) in *TS.*, *puṣṭam* and *phalam* ('abundance' and 'fruit') in *MS.*, *puṣṭam* and *varcas* ('abundance' and 'lustre') in *KS*

This ceremony, therefore, significantly symbolises the influence of the three higher castes in the Vedic Polity.[32]

The besprinkling with the sacred waters

In this ensuing ceremony the sacrificer is sprinkled with holy water by four distinct persons, as the authorities add with priestly pedantry, from as many different kinds of wooden vessels.

In the White Yajus ritual (*Ś.B.*, v. 3. 5. 11-14 and 4.2.2.) these persons are:—

Adhvaryu (or *purohita*), *sva* (king's kinsman or brother), *mitrya-rājanya* (friendly *rājanya*) and *vaiśya*.

In the Black Yajus ritual the persons mentioned are:—

Adhvaryu, Rājanya, Vaiśya and *Janya* (*T.B.* I. 7.8.7).

Adhvaryu, Brahman (or *Kṣatriya*), *Vaiśya* and *Janya mitra* (*Āp. ŚS.* XVIII. 16. 1-5).

Adhvaryu, Brahman (or *Kṣatriya*), *Vaiśya* and *Janya mitra* (*Hir.* quoted in Caland, *Āp. ŚS.* tr., p. 145).

Brahman, Vaiśya, Bhrātṛvya and *Janya* (*Mān. ŚS.* quoted Caland, *loc. cit.*).

32 Jayaswal, (*op. cit.*, Pt. II. pp. 28-29 and 29 *n*), taking *phala* of the *VS.* text to stand for the Śūdra understands the above to convey 'a point of the greatest constitutional importance', namely that 'the King is to be protected by the four estates of the realm'. Now apart from the risk of taking a fixed religious formula as the only criterion of concrete constitutional facts, the interpretation of *phala* as Śūdra is unsupported by any evidence. In fact the pairs 'fruit and lustre' 'abundance and fruit', and the like (about which Jayaswal is significantly silent) evidently show that they belong to the same category. Again, we find repeatedly in the Yajus Saṃhitā and Brāhmaṇa texts that the King is sought to be invested with abundance, prosperity and so forth. Finally, it is in complete accord with the spirit of these texts to exclude the Śūdra from all higher civil and religious rights.

Brahman, *Vaiśya*, *Bhrātṛvya* and *Janya mitra* (*M.S.* IV. 4. 2).

What is the constitutional significance of the above ceremony? According to Dr. K. P. Jayaswal (*Hindu Polity*, Pt. II, p. 25) "the *Abhiṣecanīya* is two-fold, the first part is the sprinkling of the waters by what may be described as different estates of the realm and the second is the theological anointing on the head by the priest just before the king-elect ascends the throne (*āsandī*)." We are not concerned here with this 'second part' except simply to point out that in the White Yajus ritual (*V.S.*, x. 25; *Ś.B.*, v. 4. 3. 27) the ceremony consists in the priest's drawing down the sacrificer's two arms to the dish of curds placed on a tiger-skin with the following formula:—

'I draw you down, the arms of Indra, the doer of mighty deeds.'

In the Black Yajus ritual (Cf. *TS.*, I. 8. 15) the ceremony consists in the sacrificer's putting his hands in the clotted curds for the All-Gods with the formula:—

'By the precept of Mitra and Varuṇa, the directors, I yoke thee with the yoking of the sacrifice.'

There is then no question of the priest's anointing the sacrificer on the head in connection with the above ceremony.

As regards 'the first part' which alone corresponds to the besprinkling ceremony we have described above, Jayaswal first remarks that in the White Yajus texts "the Śūdra is absent and the kinsman seems to be a tautology." He then observes that Janya of the *T.B.* list stands for the Śūdra "in the sense of a man of the hostile tribe as in *Ait. Br.*, VIII. 26 and as originally he was." But in the passage last quoted *janyāni* is equated not

with the hostile tribes, but with the king's rivals who vie with and hate him (*sapatnā vai dviṣanto bhrātṛvyā janyāni* in the original). Some of these rivals at any rate presumably were of Kṣatriya caste In the next place Caland (*op. cit.*, p. 145) has shown by a comparison with the parallel texts of *MS.* and *Man. Ś.S.* that *janya mitra* is the complete form of *janya* of the *T.B.* and that it means a friend from a foreign country ('ein Freund aus der Fremde'). By the same comparison Caland has proved the correct reading of the *Āp. Ś.S.* text to be *janyo mitram* [in place of *janyamitram* and other variants given in Garbe's edition (Bib. Ind. ed. p. 66)].

It thus appears that the relevant texts do not support the case for the Śūdra's participation in the besprinkling ceremony. As regards the part played by the persons actually mentioned, we may first refer to the dogmatic exposition of the texts themselves. To begin with the White Yajus ritual, *ŚB.*, V. 3-5. 11-14, explaining the result (or the cause) of the besprinkling by the Brahman, one of the King's own and the friendly *rājanya* respectively, states that the sacrificer is thereby sprinkled (endowed) successively with priestly dignity, with sustenance and with support. As for the Black Yajus ritual *MS.*, IV. 4.2 declares the consequence of the ceremony to be that the sacrificer is endowed by the Brahman with priestly dignity, he acquires strength from the people, he wins vigour as well as food and the like from the rival, and he gains through the *janya* a friend. According to *T.B.*, (I. 7.8.7) the Brahman endows him with priestly dignity, the *Rājanya* with vigour and food, the Vaiśya with abundance and the *Janya* is the means of gaining him friends. Equating the King's 'own man' and the friendly *Rājanya* of the *ŚB.* with

the *Rājanya—Kṣatriya—Bhrātṛvya* and with the *Janya mitra* of other texts respectively and allowing for the occurrence of the *Adhvaryu* (or *Brahman*) priest in all lists, we may estimate the significance of the besprinkling ceremony in the following way. In so far as the *Adhvaryu* and the *Rājanya* (or their equivalents) as well as the *Vaiśya* are concerned, they involve the participation of representatives of the three higher castes in the central ceremony of the Vedic coronation. This marks the closest approach to the principle of representation of Estates that the Vedic State ever attained. On the other hand the participation of the *janya mitra* ('a friend from a foreign country') probably indicates the importance of the foreign ally for the Vedic State, thus anticipating the *suhṛt* of the stock list of seven limbs (*saptāṅga*) of the Arthaśāstra-Smṛti polity of later times. We may sum up by saying that the besprinkling ceremony of the Rājasūya represents, not as Jayaswal thinks, the single principle of representation of estates, but rather the combination of this principle with that of political alliances of the Vedic State.

The sacrificer's enthronement

After the King has descended from the chariot, he is ceremonially seated on a wooden throne, when the priest touches him on the chest with the following *mantra*:—

'Varuṇa, of sure vows, hath set him down,
In the waters, with keen insight, for lordship.'[33]

Commenting on the above *ŚB.* boldly transfers the epithet (*dhṛtavrata*) of the god Varuṇa to the King as well as the learned Brāhmaṇa (*śrotriya*), while it adds the remarkable words:—

33 See *TS.* 1. 8. 16; *VS.* x. 27, *ŚB.* v. 4. 4. 5. *Dhṛtavrata* translated by Keith as 'of sure vows' is rendered by Eggeling as 'upholder of the sacred law'.

'That he should speak only what is right and do what is right, of that he as well as the *Śrotriya* is capable; for these two are the upholders of the sacred law among men.[34]

This passage, by attaching the notion of unrivalled moral greatness to the King along with the learned Brāhmaṇa, marks a distinct phase in the evolution of Vedic kingship. The Vedic King, according to this view, is the embodiment of the moral law, being matched only by the learned Brāhmaṇa.

In the White Yajus ritual there takes place immediately afterwards the curious ceremony of the priests' silently striking the king with sticks on the back. Explaining this ceremony *ŚB.*, v. 4. 4. 7 observes that[35] they thereby guide him safely over judicial punishment, whence the King is exempt from punishment. According to *KŚS*. xv. 7. 6. the priest thereby cleanses him from sin, or else carries him beyond death.[36] The significance of this rite has been understood differently by scholars. According to Weber[37] it indicates the height of priestly authority. On the other hand Jayaswal,[38] while characterising the explanation of *ŚB*. as "an amusing piece of euphemism" explains that the rod is "the symbolic sceptre of justice";

34 *niṣasāda dhṛtavrata iti dhṛtavrato vai rājā| na va'eṣa sarvasmā'iva vadanāya| na sarvasmā'iva karmaṇe| yadeva sādhu vadet yat sādhu kuryāt tasmai vā eṣa ca śrotriyaśca| etau ha vai dvau manusyeṣu dhṛtavratau| tasmādāha niṣasāda dhṛtavrata iti.*

35 *athainam pṛṣṭhatastusṇimeva daṇḍairghnanti| taṃ daṇḍair ghnanto| daṇḍavadhamatinayanti| tasmādrājā'daṇḍyo yadenaṃ daṇḍavadhamatinayanti.*

36 *pāpmānaṃ te'pahanmo'ti tvā vadham na yāmīti vā.*

37 *Über den Rājasūya,* p. 63:—Dieses Ceremoniell ist für die zur Zeit seiner Entstehung geltende unbedingte priesterliche Hoheit charakteristisch.

38 *Op. cit.,* Pt. II. p. 35.

hence the action conveys "the view of the sacred common law that the King was not above but under the law". Now if we confine ourselves, as we must, to the interpretation of the Brāhmaṇa and Sūtra texts just quoted, we have to understand the above as a ceremony of the king's purification or acquisition of special privileges, not that of assertion of priestly domination. In the next place it seems doubtful how far the significance of *daṇḍa* as the symbol of justice—so well-known to the Smṛti-Arthaśāstra polity—can be traced back to the Vedic times. What seems certain is that *ŚB*. indirectly supported by the *KŚS*, claims for the King the exceptional privilege of immunity from punishment—a claim which does not appear to be justified by any other Vedic text and is afterwards definitely denied in the Smṛti-Arthaśāstra Polity.

While the King remains seated on the throne, there takes place according to all ritualistic schools an interesting dialogue between him and the assembled priest (or priests). Five times, according to the White Yajus ritual,[39] the King addresses the Brahman priest as 'O Brahman!' The latter replies as many times with words beginning with 'O Brahman' and followed in turn by the phrases, 'Thou art Savitar, of true impulsion', 'Thou art Varuṇa, of true power', 'Thou art Indra, mighty through the people', 'Thou art Rudra, the most kindly'. In the Black Yajus ritual as also in the ritual of other schools[40] the King addresses the four chief priests (Adhvaryu, Brahman, Hotṛ, Udgātṛ) successively as 'O Brahman', only to be greeted

39 *VS*. x. 28, *ŚB*. v. 4. 4. 9-12. *KŚS*. xv. 7. 8.

40 *TS*. i. 8. 16, *TB*. i. 7. 10, *Āp.ŚS*. xviii. 18. 8-13. Cf. *BŚS*. xii. 14.

in turn as' Thou, O King, art the Brahman priest, Thou art Savitṛ of true instigation'; 'Thou, O King, art the Brahman priest, Thou art Indra of true force' 'Thou O King art the Brahman priest, Thou art Indra, the kindly'. 'Thou O King art the Brahman priest, Thou art Varuṇa of true rule'. According to Jayaswal[41] this signifies that "the Brahmin may not now be addressed by his privileged designation of superiority which is given to the King by the whole nation including the Brahmin": Thus "the sovereign and the popular representative character of the King is pointed out." Now we may admit that the above formulas involve for once (at least in theory) a clear renunciation of the Brāhmaṇa's status in favour of the King as well as the King's identification with certain leading deities of the Vedic pantheon. But we do not think that the text warrants the quasi-legal and political conception of sovereignty. It only implies, according to our view, the foremost social status of the King in the Vedic State. With this may be compared the still more direct reference in *ŚB*. v. 4. 2. 7 explaining the Rājasūya ritual of the priests' pouring the remainder of the consecration water into the Brāhmaṇa's vessel after the besprinkling ceremony. By this act we are told the Brāhmaṇa is made an object of respect after the King.

The game of dice.

In the next important ceremony, namely the King's playing a game of dice, we find a striking difference between the White and Black Yajus rituals. According to the White Yajus

41 *Op. cit.*, Pt. II. p. 37 and *n*'1.

texts[42] the sacrificial sword is passed round successively from the *adhvaryu* (or *purohita*) to the King, the King's brother, the *sūta* (or else the *sthapati*), the *grāmaṇī* and the tribesman (*sajāta*) to the accompaniment of a proper *mantra*. Then the *Adhvaryu* and the tribesman prepare the gaming ground with the sacrificial sword and the *Adhvaryu* wins for the King a cow staked by the tribesman. In the Black Yajus texts,[43] on the other hand, the sacrificial sword is passed round in succession from the Brahman priest to the King, his dear son or friend, the *purohita*, the *ratnins* and so on to the *akṣāvāpa*. After the *akṣāvāpa* had marked the gaming ground a Brahman, a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya and a Śūdra play for a cow. Finally the king invites with auspicious epithets the *saṃgrahitṛ*, the *bhāgadugha* and the *kṣattṛ* to become witnesses.[44]

In discussing the constitutional significance of the above ceremonies, we may begin by stating that they express, explicitly according to the White Yajus texts and implicitly according to those of the Black Yajus, the priestly author's view of the proper gradation of official ranks in the Vedic State. To begin with the former, *ŚB*. v. 4. 4. 15-19, explaining the initial ceremony, says that the person passing round the sacrificial sword

42 *VS*. x. 29, *ŚB*. v. 4. 4. 15-23, *KŚS*. xv. 7. 11-20.

43 *TS*. I. 8. 16, *TB*. I. 7. 10, *VŚS*. III. I. I 45 *Āp*. *ŚS*. XVIII. 18. 14-18, *ibid*., 19. 6-8. *Pratihita* translated as 'his dear friend or son' by Keith. (*TS*. tr. p. 127 *n* 2) is rendered as 'dem ihm an nächsten stehenden Sohn' by Caland, (*Ap*. *ŚS*. tr. p. 151).

44 *Upadraṣṭāraḥ* of *Ap*. *ŚS*. XVIII. 19. 8. is tr. as 'Zuschauer' by Caland. The auspicious epithets referred to are *suśloka* ('far-famed one') *sumaṅgala* ('most prosperous one') and *satyarājan* ('true king') applied to the *saṃgrahitṛ*, *bhāgadugha* and *kṣattṛ* respectively.

makes the one to whom it is passed in each case weaker than himself. In the case of the Brāhmaṇa it adds a special *apologia* to the effect that "indeed the King who is weaker than a Brāhmaṇa is stronger than his enemies." Summing up its explanation it says, "And as to why they mutually hand it on in this way, they do so lest there should be a confusion of classes and in order that (society) may be in the proper order." According to this passage, therefore, the test of a good State and society is the subordination of the temporal to the spiritual power—a position which marks the extreme sacerdotalist view on this point. Of other persons in the list the superiority of the *sūta* to the *grāmaṇī* is in accordance with their relative positions in the *ratnin* list to which reference has been made above. The equivalence of the *sthapati* ('chief judge' or 'governor') to the *sūta* is an interesting additional reference to the Vedic administrative organization. Lastly, the staking of a cow by a tribesman and the king's winning the stake from him probably symbolises the assertion of the royal sacrificer's rule over the common freeman. Coming to the Black Yajus ritual, it is significant of the changed conception of gradation of official ranks that the *purohita* comes after the king and his dear son or friend. On the other hand it is remarkable that the *purohita,* like the Brahman in the *ratnin* lists, here also stands ahead of this class. The staking of a cow by the representatives of the four castes and the King's taking three officials well-known to the *ratnin* list as his witnesses, probably symbolises the solemn assertion of rule of the royal sacrificer over every class of his subjects.

In the formulas of ceremonies above mentioned beginning with the King's enthronement and ending with the game of

dice, Jayaswal[45] traces a number of allusions to the king's coronation-oath. "The King-elect," he says, "is unanimously regarded to have taken (*sic*) a vow (*dhṛtavrata*) before he is seated on the throne. The vow, promise or oath is again alluded to in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (I. 7. 10 1-6), *satyasava* 'of true sacrifice', *satyadharmā* 'of true conduct', *satyānṛte varuṇaḥ* 'Varuṇa is authority in truth and falsehood', *satyarājā* 'true King.'..... The vow or engagement is not cited here. But it is given in the very Indra ceremony in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.*" Now the phrase *dhṛtavrata* of the *mantra,* which by the way, is pronounced after (not before) the King's sitting on the throne, is applied in all the texts quoted by Jayaswal[46] to the god Varuṇa. The *ŚB*. alone transfers this epithet by a bold stroke to the King as well as the *Śrotriya*, and it understands the phrase, as stated above, not in the constitutional sense of the King's observance of the coronation oath, but in the moral sense of the King's acting and speaking rightly. The phrases *satyasava, satyadharmā, satyaujas,* etc. are applied, it is true, to the King not only (as Jayaswal says) in *TB,* but also in other texts of the Black Yajus Saṃhitās relating to the priests' address to the King. It is also true that *TB*. I. 7. 10. 1-6 cited by Jayaswal explains the formula to mean that the King is thereby made Savitṛ *satyasava,* Indra *satyaujāḥ* and Varuṇa *satyadharmā*. In the same context *TB*. further says that Varuṇa is *satya* and *anṛta* and the priest thereby wins for the King both these attributes. But there is no warrant for taking the epithet *satya* of these passages (as also

45 *Op. cit.* Pt. II. pp. 27-28.

46 *VS*. X. 27, *TS*. I. 8. 16 *TB*. I. 7. 10. 2, *AB* VIII. 18 to which we may add *KS*. XV. 8, *MS*. II. 6 12 *AB*. VIII. 13.

of *satyarājan* applied to the Kṣattṛ in another ceremony mentioned above) in the specific constitutional sense of the coronation-oath. Of the significance of the *A.B.* passage quoted by Jayaswal in this connection we shall speak in another place.

Before leaving our analysis of the Rājasūya ritual, we may pause to notice some points of constitutional importance arising from its exposition according to the Sāmaveda school. Explaining the use of appropriate chants at the consecration ceremony, *PB.* (XVIII. 10. 8-9) says that thereby "he takes the priesthood (*Brahma* in the original) from the nobility (*Kṣatra*)" and "therefore the Brāhmaṇas are able to punish in return their supporters (i.e. the nobles)". Again it says that thereby "he encompasses for him (i.e. the King) the people (*viś*) on both sides, the people will not retire from him (but serve him)". In these two extracts is embodied the priestly author's view of the Brāhmaṇa's independence of the Kṣatriya and of the subjection of the Vaiśyas to the King.

Royal Consecration in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa—General remarks

The *AB.* begins its distinctive account of royal consecration with a few isolated notices of the component rites. First, as regards eligibility to the sacrifice we are told[47] that by virtue of the original creation of Prajāpati, the Brāhmaṇa was made 'the eater of oblations' (*hutāda*), while the Rājanya, Vaiśya and Śūdra were made 'those who do not eat the oblations' (*ahutāda*). In the same context *AB.* mentions a legend to explain how 'the sacrificer even now finds support in the holy

47 VII. 19.

power and the Brāhmaṇas,' while the Kṣatriya sacrificer even now goes to the sacrifice only after shedding his distinctive weapons and assuming the form of the Brāhmaṇa. In the above passages we are presented with what may be called the Brāhmaṇa's Divine Right to the privileges of sacrifice, so much so that even the Kṣatriya can exercise his rights only in a Brahmanical guise. The extreme view marked by the above text may be contrasted with passages like *ŚB.* IV. 5. 2. 16 which by implication declares both the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya to be equally entitled to the eating of oblations.

Turning to the next point *AB.* (VII. 20) takes it for granted that the Brāhmaṇa, the Rājanya or the Vaiśya, before consecration, begs the sacrificial ground (*devayajana*) from a Kṣatriya. It accordingly takes up and answers the question, 'Whom is the Kṣatriya in such a case to ask?' We may perhaps take it to point to the King's ownership of the unappropriated land, for which, however, we have hardly any other evidence in the Vedic texts.

We are next introduced, in connection with libations for preventing the decay of sacrifices and gifts (*iṣṭāpūrtasyā 'parijyāniḥ*), to a parallel set of prayers to the gods Indra and Agni for favour of the holy and the lordly powers respectively. At the beginning and the conclusion of the sacrifice similarly we have prayers (*AB.* VII. 22) to the following effect:—

'May the holy power guard me from the lordly power'. 'May the lordly power guard me from the holy power.'[47a] Explaining these prayers, *AB.* says that he who has recourse to the sacrifice has recourse to the holy power, and the holy

47a *brahma mā kṣatrād gopāyatu......kṣatraṃ mā brahmaṇo gopāyatu.*

power thus delighted guards him from the lordly power. Again it says that he who has recourse to the kingship has recourse to the lordly power and the lordly power thus delighted guards him from the holy power. These passages, it will be observed, refer to what may be called the inherent antagonism of the temporal and spiritual powers in the natural setting of a King participating in an essentially Brahmanical ceremony.

The above doctrine of the essential antagonism of the two powers is brought out still more forcibly in the ensuing ceremony and its dogmatic exposition (*AB*. VII. 23-24). The Kṣatriya, we are told, has before consecration Indra as his deity, along with the appropriate metre and *stoma* and is Rājanya in relationship. Because of his becoming a Brāhmaṇa after consecration Indra takes his power and the appropriate metre etc. his other qualities, saying, 'He is becoming other than we: he is becoming the holy power: he is joining the holy power.' Hence the Kṣatriya before consecration should offer a libation with prayer to Indra not to take his power and to the rest not to take away his other qualities. After consecration a Kṣatriya has Agni for his deity along with the appropriate metre and *stoma* and is the Brahman in relationship. Because of his assuming the Kṣatriya character at the end, Agni takes his brilliance and the corresponding metre etc. his other qualities. Hence after the final offering he should offer libations with prayer to Agni etc. not to take away his brilliance and other qualities.

The immediately following exposition of other parts of the ritual accords with the Brahmanical monopoly of religious privileges referred to above. Speaking of the mode of announcement of the consecration (*dīkṣāyā āvedanam*) *AB*. VII. 25 takes

it for granted that a consecrated Brāhmaṇa is announced under his own name. Taking up then the question 'how is one to announce the consecration of Kṣatriya,' it says that this should be done with the *ārṣeya* ('ṛṣi descent') of the King's *purohita*. Next with reference to the question 'should the Kṣatriya eat the sacrificial share' (*yajamānabhāga*), *AB*. (VII. 26) answers equally characteristically that this should be handed over to the Brahman priest who stands to the Kṣatriya in the relation of the *purohita*, his half-self.[48] These passages requiring the Kṣatriya sacrificer to be represented by his Brahman priest reflect once more the doctrine that sacrifice is the monopoly of the Brāhmaṇa.

The following explanation of the proper food of the King at the sacrifice is of considerable importance as embodying in a nutshell what was perhaps the normal aspect of the civil status of the Brāhmaṇa, Vaiśya and Śūdra in the Vedic State. The Kṣatriya sacrificer, we are told (*AB*. VII. 27-34), should not take *soma* or curds or warter, the food of the Brāhmaṇas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras respectively. For in that case there will be born in his offspring one like a Brāhmaṇa, Vaiśya or Śūdra and the second or third from him may become a Brāhmaṇa, Vaiśya or Śūdra. In explaining the evil consequences of this act the author mentions (VII. 29) what is doubtless the fullest and most remarkable summary of the civil disabilities of the three castes. The Brāhmaṇa, according to him, is 'an acceptor of gifts, a drinker (of soma), a seeker of livelihood, one to be moved at will', the Vaiśya is 'tributary to another, to be eaten by another, to be oppressed at

48 *purohitāyatanaṃ vā etad kṣatriyasya yad brahmā' rdhātmo ha vā eṣa kṣatriyasya yat purohitaḥ*.

will' and lastly, the Śūdra is 'the servant of another, to be removed at will, to be slain at will'.[49] It follows from this description that the Śūdras formed the class of hereditary slaves without the right of personal security, while the Vaiśyas not only bore the burden of taxation, but what is more remarkable, had little or no security of person and property. These statements find some support in the legends of creation of the four *varṇas* (*TS*. VII. 1. 1. 4-6, *PB*. VI. 1. 6-11) where we are told that the Vaiśya is to be eaten and the Śūdra is dependent on others. What seems unique in the above passage is the relative absence of civil rights even of the Brāhmaṇas. This is a striking reminder of the limitations to which the authority of the Brahmāṇa with all his high pretentions was actually subject in the Vedic State.[50]

The relations of the two powers are again set forth in course of the ensuing exposition (*AB*. VIII 1 ff.) of the rules relating to the *śastras* and *stotras* of the sacrifice. We are here told that 'the holy power is prior to the lordly power' and again that 'on the holy power is established the lordly power, on the lordly power the holy power.'[51] These passages reflect two aspects of the priestly author's view regarding the mutual relations of the spiritual and temporal powers in the Vedic State,

49 *ādāyy-āpāyy-āvasāyī yathākāmaprayāpyaḥ......anyasya balikṛdanyasyā' dyo yathākāmajyeyaḥ......anyasyu preṣyaḥ kāmotthāpyo yathākāmavadhyaḥ.*

50 In connection with the above passages giving the classical statement of the status of the three castes in the Vedic State, we may well doubt whether it represents the views of the author (or authors) of the *AB*. It is professedly a quotation from another teacher and ill-suits its present context which contemplates the king's status to be inferior to that of the Brāhamaṇa.

51 *brahmaṇi khalu vai kṣatraṃ pratiṣṭhitaṃ kṣatre brahma.*

centering around the superiority of the former and the interdependence of both.

Punarabhiṣeka

It is at the end of these preliminary remarks on isolated points of doctrine and ritual that *AB* begins its description of the consecration ceremony proper. This ceremony has two forms both of which are unknown to the other schools viz. *Punarabhiṣeka* ('renewed consecration') and *Aindramahābhiṣeka* ('The great consecration of Kings after Indra's fashion').

Beginning with the first-named sacrifice, *AB.* VIII. 5 mentions successively the collection of materials, the mounting on the throne, the consecration with the sacred waters, the descent from the throne and so forth. In the formula the sacrificer is said to mount the throne *rājyāya sāmrājyāya bhaujyāya svārājyāya vairājyāya pārameṣṭhyāya rājyāya* (a second time) *māhārājyāyādhipatyāya svāvaśyāyātiṣṭhāya.* Whatever may be the precise significance of this string of eleven epithets, the passage involves at any rate the idea of an Imperial State as distinguished from a simple monarchy. We shall presently see how the same type of State is reflected in the course of exposition of the great consecration ceremony of Indra.[52]

After descending from the throne the sacrificer thrice utters the formula of salutation to Brahman (*namo brahmaṇe*).

52 Weber, (*op. cit.* p. 112 *n*), after contrasting the series of epithets piled upon the king in the above extract with his exclusion from the soma drink, concludes from the double occurrence of *rājyāya* in the list that originally it stood alone in the formula and all the other ten epithets were later additions. In this case—the ceremony in its primitive form would refer to a simple monarchy.

'Verily thus,' says the author, 'the lordly power falls under the holy power.'. Here we have one more reference to the superiority of the spiritual to the temporal power, which seems to be the dominant note of the Vedic State according to our authors.

Mahābhiṣeka of Indra

Immediately after its description of the *Punarabhiṣeka, AB.* (VIII. 12-23) introduces us to its account of the Great Consecration of Indra by the gods in heaven and that of the King by the priest on this earth. Common to both ceremonies are the collection of materials, mounting the throne by the sacrificer, proclamation of the sacrificer (by the All-Gods in heaven and by the King-makers on this earth), besprinkling of the sacrificer and so forth. In the formula for mounting the throne (VIII. 12 and 17) Indra and the King are made to state that they are mounting the same for *sāmrājya bhaujya svārājya vairājya pārameṣṭhya rājya māhārājya* etc. Similar strings of epithets are used in the formula used before and after the consecration (VIII. 13-14, 18-19). In connection with the formula (VIII. 14 & 19) we may observe that the specific groups of deities are mentioned as consecrating Indra as well the King in the different quarters of the sky for as many forms of lordship. Thus we read that the Vasus in the East anoint him for *sāmrājya,* the Rudras in the South for *bhaujya,* the Ādityas in the West for *svārājya,* the All-Gods in the North for *vairājya,* the Maruts and Aṅgirases in the upward quarter for *pārameṣṭhya,* and lastly the *Sādhyas Āptyas* in 'this firm middle' for *rājya* etc. Explaining this formula with reference to Indra *AB.* further states that for this reason the Kings of the East, South, West, North and Middle

are consecrated respectively for *sāmrājya, bhaujya, svārājya, vairājya* and *rājya* and called by the corresponding titles. Although the reference to the upward quarter is obviously a piece of fiction, we have in above extract the fullest attempt at what may be called the regional classification of constitutions, that is found in the Vedic literature. If we could distinguish the precise significance of the terms in question, we would have here an exhaustive account of the constitutions known to the Vedic people.[53] We may pause here to point out that *AB.*, in introducing the *Aindramahābhiṣeka* of Kings, claims it to ensure not only 'superiority, pre-eminence and supremacy over all Kings' but also the position of 'sole ruler' 'from the one end up to the further side of the earth bounded by the ocean.'[54] In this remarkable passage we are introduced to the conception of universal monarchy extending over the land up to its natural limits as well as that of paramount sovereignty.

At the beginning of the Indra Consecration of the earthly King, as *AB.* VIII. 15 tells us, the priest proposes and the Kṣatriya repeats with faith (*śraddhā*) the text of a solemn oath binding the latter under terrible moral sanctions to keep his trust by the former.[55] According to Jayaswal[56] the above con-

53 For a similar example of regional classification of constitutions see *V.S.* XIV. 13 and XV. 10-14 where in the formula for construction of the fire altar, the east, south, west and the zenith are respectively called *mahiṣi, virāṭ, samrāṭ, svarāṭ* and *adhipati.*

54 *sarveṣāṃ rājñāṃ śraiṣṭhyamatiṣṭhāṃ paramatāṃ......pṛthivyai samudraparyantāyā ekarāṭ.*

55 The text of the oath proposed by the priest is as follows:—

'From the night of my birth to that of my death, for the space between these two, my sacrifice and my gifts, my peace, my good deeds, my life and mine offspring mayest thou take, if I play thee false.'

56 *Op. cit* Pt. II. pp. 27-28.

tains the text of the coronation-oath which is "simply alluded to and not repeated in other Brāhmaṇas." Now the phrases *yadi me druhyeḥ* ('if thou dost play me false') and *yadi te druhyeyam* ('if I play thee false') uttered by the priest and the Kṣatriya respectively, are conclusive evidence of the fact that the beneficiary of the oath is not the body of subjects, but the individual priest. With this we may compare the similar, but more equitable mutual oath of King and priest in the royal consecration ceremony of the Kauśikasūtra (XVII. 6. 7).[57]

In the proclamation formula to which reference has been made above, among other titles applied to the divine and the human sacrificer are mentioned 'eater of the people' (*viśāmattā*), 'protector of Brahman' or 'of Brāhmaṇas' (*brahmaṇo goptā* in Indra's case, *brāhmaṇānām goptā* in case of the King) and 'protector of *dharma*' (*dharmasya goptā*). The first title crystallises the Vedic author's view of the Vaiśya's civil disabilities to which reference has been made above. In the other two epithets we are introduced to the two-fold function of the King,—the protection of *dharma* and *Brāhmaṇas*—which becomes a commonplace in the later Smṛti-Arthaśāstra State.

Vājapeya (The drink of strength)—General remarks

While the complex of sacrificial rites which we have examined so far relates exclusively to the King, it is far otherwise with the ritual complex to which we now turn. *ŚŚ.S.* (XVI. 17.

57 It is worth remarking that Weber (*Über den Vājapeya,* p. 155 *n*) takes the above extract to be characteristic of the high pretentions of the priestly hierarchy, in as much as even the sole ruler of the earth bounded by the ocean has submissively to swear to be true to his priest.

4), which has in this respect evidently preserved the original character of the Vājapeya sacrifice, declares it to be open to the Brāhmaṇa, the Rājanya and the Vaiśya. In all other ritual texts we are told that it is open to the Brāhmaṇa and the Rājanya (or even only the Rājan).[58] This deliberate exclusion of the Vaiśya from one of the most important sacrifices illustrates one phase of the contrast between the Vaiśya and the two upper castes in the Vedic polity. It would seem that while the Brāhmaṇa and the Kṣatriya were entitled to the full exercise of religious rights, there was a tendency to deprive the *Vaiśyas* of the same.

The objects of performing the Vājapeya are almost as varied as the classes who are entitled to the same. *ŚSS*. xv. 1. 1. prescribes it for one desiring abundance of food. On the other hand *ŚB*. v. 1. 1. 13, comparing the Vājapeya with the Rājasūya, says that one attains the position of *samrāṭ* by performing the former and that of *rājan* by performance of the latter, the position of *samrāṭ* being higher than that of *rājan*. Reversing this order *TB*. I. 7. 6. 1 declares that Vājapeya is *samrāṭsava* ('consecration to the position of *samrāṭ*') and Rājasūya is *varuṇasava* ('consecration to the universal sovereignty of Varuṇa'). According to *Ā.ŚS*. IX. 9. 1 Vājapeya should be performed by a King or a Brāhmaṇa desirous of lordship (*ādhipatya*). Again in *V.Ś.S*. III. 1. 2. 47 we are told at the

58 Cf. *Āp. Ś.S*. XVIII. 1. 1.:—*śaradi vājapeyena yajeta brāhmaṇo rājanyo vardhi-kāmaḥ* *VŚS*. XIII. 1. 1.:—*brāhmaṇo rājanyo vā śaradi vājapeyena yajeta*. More generally in *LŚS*. VIII. 11. 1.:—*yaṃ brāhmaṇā rājānaśca puraskurvīran sa vājapeyena yajeta*. Directly excluding the Vaiśya is *KŚS*. XIV. 1.: *vājapeyaḥ śaradyavaiśyasya*.

end that the performer of Vājapeya is called *samrāṭ*. With these texts we may compare what the Yajus Saṃhitā and the Brāhmaṇa texts declare to be the result of performance of the besprinkling ceremony to be noticed below. In these extracts we once more come across the Vedic author's conception of the imperial State.

While the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas are alone according to most authorities eligible to the sacrifice, it is worth noticing that they are sharply distinguished in the accompanying ritual. Again and again we find different *mantras* laid down for these classes, the Brāhmaṇa addressing his prayer to Bṛhaspati and the King to Indra.[59] We find even the priestly Bṛhaspati with his heaven being distinguished from the warrior Indra and his heaven.[60] Illustrative of these differences is *ŚB*. V. I. I. 11 which justifies the eligibility of the Brāhmaṇa and the Rājanya by saying that it was performed by Bṛhaspati and Indra representing the two classes respectively.[60a] These passages illustrate one of the fundamental features of the Vedic polity, namely the complete separation of the temporal and spiritual powers.

Chariot-race

Among the rites of the Vājapeya one of the most important is a chariot-race which is won by the sacrificer in a contest with

59 Cf. *VS*. IX. 10-12. *ŚB*. V. I. 5. 2-12 etc.

60 Weber, (*op. cit.* p. 15) notes that the Vaiśyas also had according to *ŚŚS*. their own tutelary gods (namely, the Maruts) and their heaven.

60a "Now truly this is the Brāhmaṇa's own sacrifice, in as much as Bṛhaspati performed it, for Bṛhaspati is the Brahman and the Brāhmaṇa is the Brahman. And is also that of the Rājanya in as much as Indra performed it, for Indra is the kṣatra and the Rājanya is the kṣatra."

sixteen other competitors. In the course of these rites a Rājanya shoots an arrow for fixing the goal of the race. Explaining the rite *ŚB.*, (V 1. 5. 14) says:—

'And as to why a Rājanya shoots—he, the Rājanya, is most manifestly of Prajāpati ('the lord of creatures'); hence, while being one, he rules over many'.

This doctrine of the King's rule by virtue of his divinity is not characteristic of the Vedic State where the monarch, as we have shown above, is emphatically declared to be of human origin.

Another rite connected with the chariot race illustrates the depressed state of the Vaiśya to which we have referred above. In this ritual a Vaiśya or a Rājanya, mounting one of the seventeen chariots for the race, is made to exchange a cup of honey for one of *surā* given by the priest. Explaining the ceremony both *ŚB.*, V. 1. 5. 28 and *TB.*, 1. 3. 3. 7 declare that the priest thus imbues the sacrificer with truth and smites the Vaiśya with untruth.

Mounting the sacrificial post

At the end of the chariot-race the sacrificer and his wife mount the sacrificial post, signifying their approach to the gods. In the accompanying formula which is common to both White and Black Yajus schools, they declare that they have come to heaven, have become Prajāpati's children and have become immortal.[61] This points to the doctrine of the sacrificer's attaining the divinty by means of the sacrifice, which is so characteristic of the Yajus Saṃhitā and the Brāhmaṇa texts.

61 *VS.* IX. 21, *TS.* I. 7. 9, *MS.* I. 11. 3, *KS.* XIV. 1, *TB.* I. 3. 7. 5, *ĀpŚS.* XVIII. 5. 14.

After the sacrificer is mounted on his post, he is presented with salt by Vaiśyas according to the White Yajus ritual.[62] Explaining this rite *ŚB.*, v. 2. 1. 17 states that the Maruts representing the Viś are food—a maxim mentioned in an earlier passage (v. 1. 3. 3) with reference to the offering of the victim to the Maruts. In the Black Yajus ritual[63] the four chief priests present salt to the sacrificer with an accompanying formula. This of course implies the absence of any constitutional significance in the ceremony concerned.

After the sacrificer has dismounted from his post and is seated on the throne (according to *ŚB.*,) or at the time of dismounting (according to *Āp. ŚS.*, XVIII. 5. 20), he is addressed by the priest with a remarkable formula. In the *VS.*, text (IX. 22) it runs as follows:—

> 'This is thy kingship, thou art the ruler, the ruling lord! Thou art firm and steadfast! Thee for the tilling, thee for peaceful dwelling, thee for thrift'.[64]

Explaining this formula *ŚB.*, v. 2. 1. 25 says that 'thereby he endows the sacrificer with the royal power', 'makes him the ruler', 'maes him firm and steadkfast in this world', and 'means to say, 'Here I seat thee for the welfare of the people'. Quoting the above texts of the *VS.* and *ŚB.*, Jayaswal[65] takes them to signify that the kingship depended upon "this sacred act of delivering the trust" and "not on any other principle such as that of

62 *ŚB.* v. 2. 17 etc.

63 *TS.* I. 7. 9; *MS.* I. 11. 3. *Āp. ŚS.* XVIII. 5-6, however, requires the salt to be given by the (four) Vaiśyas or the four chief priests. (See Caland's tr.).

64 *iyaṃ te rāṭ yantāsi yamano dhruvo'si dharuṇaḥ kṛṣyai tvā kṣemāya tvā rayyai tvā poṣāya tvā.*

65 *Op. cit.*, pt. II. p. 34.

succession or inheritance". In considering this view we may mention at the outset that the phrases 'for tilling' etc., while singularly inapplicable to the Brāhmaṇa sacrificer, suit the King with peculiar aptness.[66] The above passage, then, evidently implies, as Jayaswal thinks, that the Vedic kingship was a trust. We may, however, observe that none of the other Yajus Saṃhitā texts applies this formula to the Vājapeya sacrificer, although they use similar formulas in different contexts.[67] This may perhaps be taken to signify the limited extent to which the doctrine of trust was applied to the Vedic King.

Besprinkling ceremony

After some further ceremonies the priest besprinkles the sacrificer who is seated on a black antelope skin. In the accompanying formula the sacrificer is said to be consecrated to the *sāmrājya* (supreme lordship) of Bṛhaspati (*VS.*, IX. 30 and *ŚB.*, V. 2. 2. 14), to those of Bṛhaspati and Indra (*KS.* XIV. 2. *MS.*, I. 11. 4) or to those of Agni, Indra and Bṛhaspati (*TS.*, I. 7. 10, *TB.*, I. 3. 8). According to *ŚB.*, this means that the priest thereby makes him attain to the fellowship of Bṛhaspati and co-existence in his world. The priest winds up by acclaiming the sacrificer as 'All-ruler' and commending him to the protection of the gods of whom he has become one (*ŚB.*, V. 2. 2. 15). While the above extracts hint at the familiar doctrine of the King's attaining the divinity through the sacrifice, the mention of Bṛhaspati is of some significance. As Weber justly points

66 Cf. *Weber, op. cit.* p. 36. *n* 1.

67 For the use of similar formulas at the *agnicayana* ceremony see *TS.* IV. 3. 7 *MS.* II. 8. 3, *KS.* XVII. 3. A similar formula is used as the *Adhvarya* puts the rope over the sacrificial horse at the *Aśvamedha* (*TS.* VII. 1. 11).

out,[68] the single reference to this god in the Mādhyandina recension of VS., which is not shared by the Kāṇva recension of the same Saṃhitā as well as by all the other Saṃhitās, indicates the reconstruction of the whole stuff in the special priestly sense.

Conclusion

Let us attempt, in conclusion, to sum up as far as possible the leading characteristics of the Vedic State as embodied in the ceremonies of royal and imperial consecration above described. In making this attempt it is well to remember that the above ceremonies with their accompanying formulas necessarily reflect the Vedic polity only in some of its aspects and in the setting of a standardised (though not rigidly fixed) sacrificial routine. It must, again, be admitted that the expositions of the rituals with their formulas, according to the different Vedic schools and sub-schools, were strongly coloured with their characteristic beliefs and prejudices. In the absence of more concrete facts such as those of the Anglo-Saxon charters and laws, it is impossible to judge how far the imperfect and one-sided picture drawn by our present authorities corresponds to the Vedic State in its true historical light. Subject to this important qualification the following conclusions may be drawn from our survey of the consecration ceremonies about the nature of the Vedic State: —

(1) Monarchy was the type of constitution universally known to the Vedic State. Of a regularly constituted Council of Nobles or Popular Assembly there is hardly any trace.

68 *Op. cit.* p. 38: —"Die alleinige Nennung des Bṛihaspati in der Mādhyandina-Schule der Vs. ist eben auf deren speciell in priesterlichem Sinne gehaltene überarbeitung des ganzen Stoffes zurückzuführen."

(2) The monarchy was generally in the tribal stage. But territorial kingship had already emerged in some quarters. What is more, the texts refer to various forms of universal monarchy embracing a complex of tribes and extending over the whole land up to its natural frontiers.

(3) The king emphatically never claimed divine origin. On the other hand he could be held to have derived his authority from the gods or even could be identified with them not merely through the sacrifice but by inherent right. Though the kingship could be regarded as a trust, there is no distinct trace of a coronation-oath. The king's office implied authority over the people, but the latter also could be declared as the source of kingship and stated as protecting the king.

(4) The king was head of the civil and military administration, although some of his officers still held titles of members of his household. Already it was held that the king's justice prevailed over private jurisdictions and that he was exempt from judicial punishment. The protection of *Dharma* and of Brāhmaṇas was already recognized as one of the king's functions.

(5) Of the branches of administration the military as a rule was subordinated to the civil. Among the civil officers the *purohita* held the dominant position. The queens also had a constitutional status. The officers of the royal court and household as well as the artisan classes held an equally conspicuous place in the constitution. There was a regular gradation of ranks from the king down to the meanest official.

(6) The principle of political representation was applied not only to groups of officers, but also and above all to classes and sections of the people.

(7) While the Śūdra was of little account in the Vedic State, the Brāhmaṇa, the Rājanya and the Vaiśya were its component factors. In particular the Brāhmaṇa and the Rājanya were regarded as the two ruling powers in the State. Not only were the provinces of these two powers sharply distinguished from each other, but between them there was an inherent antagonism which, however, could be modified into inter-dependence, while the spiritual power at other times claimed superiority over the temporal power or *vice versa*.

(8) The Śūdra was practically without religious rights, while those of the Vaiśya and even the Kṣatriya tended to be restricted in favour of the Brāhmaṇas. Again, perhaps normally while the Śūdra had no civil rights, those of the Vaiśya were dependent upon the favour of others. The Brāhmaṇas claimed to form a State within or rather beyond the State under the kingship of the divine Soma. But actually they only asserted (not always with success) the immunity of their person and property.

(9) The Vedic State was so inseparably associated with political alliances that a friendly ally took part in the actual besprinkling of the king*

* ABBREVIATIONS

RV.	=Ṛgveda
AV.	=Atharva Veda
TS.	=Taittirīya Saṃhitā
VS.	=Vājasaneya Saṃhitā
MS.	=Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā
KS.	=Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā
ŚB.	=Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
AB.	=Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
TB.	=Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa

PB.	= Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa
Āp. ŚS.	= Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra
ĀŚS.	= Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra
BŚS.	= Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra
KŚS.	= Kātyāyaṇa Śrauta Sūtra
LŚS.	= Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra
ŚŚS.	= Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra
VŚS	= Vārāha Śrauta Sūtra
Vait. S.	= Vaitāna Sutra

The translations from *TS.*, *ŚB.*, *AB.*, *PB.*, and *Āp. ŚS.* are reproduced from the respective versions of Keith (*HOS.* Vols. XVIII-XIX), Eggeling (*SBE.* Vols. XII, XXVI, XLI, XLIV), Keith (*HOS.* Vol. XXV), Caland (*Bib. Ind.* ed.) and Caland (*Konn. AK. van Wet. te Amsterdam*).

PERIODS OF INDIAN HISTORY

Without denying the essential unity of history, it is not only possible but desirable to divide it into well-marked chronological periods. In the history of India three periods are often distinguished by the authors of text-books as well as advanced works. These are characterised as Hindu, Muhammadan and British. There is about this scheme of division an air of delusive simplicity which is sufficient to recommend it to popular acceptance. It seems to imply the three most important elements of the political life of India at the present time as successively ruling the destinies of the country in the past. And yet when it is subjected to a close scrutiny, it is found to be beset with special difficulties which preclude its acceptance for purposes of serious study.

To begin with the so-called Hindu period of Indian History, it is usually taken to extend from the earliest times to the Muhammadan conquest. Unfortunately the term Hindu. owing to the course of historical events, has a somewhat ambiguous connotation. As is well-known, this term was not known to the Ancient Indians, but was coined from the river-name Sindhu by the Ancient Iranians from whom it was afterwards adopted by the Greeks, who passed it on to the Arabs and Persians.[1] In this original sense of the word, it stands for the

1 Thus Vedic Sanskrit *Sindhu* > Avestan *Hindu*. Old Persian *Hi(n)du* > Greek *'Indoi*, and Arabic *Hind*. An exact parallel is found in the case of Ancient Greece where this geographical name was given more or less vaguely to the country by the Romans. 'It was apparently derived by the Romans from

people or group of peoples occupying a certain definite area and possessing a distinctive type of culture. In popular parlance, however, and even in official nomenclature in modern times, 'Hindu' is held to be synonymous with a follower of the Brahmanical religion and 'Hindus' are distinguished as such from Buddhists and Jains, not to speak of the adherents of alien faiths reaching the country in later times. Now if we make use of the latter and popular sense of the term, it may properly be held to exclude those centuries during which Buddhism was the dominant religion. In fact we should confine its scope only to the subsequent centuries which were marked by the dominance of Brahmanical Hinduism. Such is the view of Mr. C. V. Vaidya who distinguishes[2] three periods in the early history of India, viz., 'Aryan' (*c.* 4000 or 2000 B.C.-300 B.C.), 'Aryo-Buddhist' or 'Buddhist' (*c.* 300 B.C.-600 A.D.) and 'Hindu' (*c.* 600-1200 or 1300 A.D.). It is unnecessary to expose the fallacy of this view which seeks to project into the past the narrow and limited connotation associated with the word 'Hindu' in later times. But it may well be taken to illustrate how owing to the ambiguity inherent in the term in question, it is possible to restrict its application to a very limited period of the Ancient History of India.

The difficulty is minimised, but not extinguished, when we understand the term Hindu in its wider original sense. It is a historical truism that the Hindu type of culture, like the Hellenic culture in classical antiquity, resulted from the fusion

the Illyrians who applied the name of an Epirot tribe (Graeci) to all their southern neighbours' (*Encycl. Britt.* s.v. Greece).

2 *History of Mediaeval India,* Vol. 1, Preface, p. 1.

of the intrusive Aryan and the indigenous non-Aryan elements. In India, naturally enough, owing to the larger size of the country, this blending of the two distinct cultures was a much slower and more difficult process than it was in Ancient Greece. In so far as the North (the territories between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas) is concerned, it must have practically commenced during the Brāhmaṇa period (*c.* 800-600 B.C.?). Thus while the *Ṛgveda*, the oldest literary monument of the Indo-Aryans, takes us scarcely farther eastwards than the Jumna, the Brāhmaṇas include 'Vidarbha' (Berar?) in the South and Magadha and Aṅga in the East within their ken. In the tract to the south of the Vindhyas the diffusion of the Aryan culture came necessarily later. Thus the earliest references to the Pāṇḍya, Cola and Keṛala kingdoms are given by the grammarian Kātyāyana (*c.* 400 B.C.), while his great predecessor Pāṇini's acquaintance extends only to the Aśmakas on the upper course of the Godāvarī. Allowing a century for the mingling of the Aryan and non-Aryan cultural elements, we arrive at *c.* 500 B.C., as the approximate date of the rise of Hindu culture in the North and 300 B.C. as the corresponding date for the South. It follows from the above that the 'Hindu period' of Indian history strictly so-called may be traced back at the earliest to *c.* 500 B.C. in the North and *c.* 300 B.C. in the South. This of course makes the expression wholly inappropriate for the designation not only of the Palaeolithic, Neolithic and Chalcolithic, but also of the Early Vedic Ages.

The above arguments find a striking corroboration in Vincent Smith's standard text-book on the History of India. In this work the author divides the Early History of India into

three sections, viz. 'Ancient India' (from the earliest times to *c.* 322 B.C.), (2) 'Hindu India' (*c.* 322 B.C.—647 A.D.), and (3) 'Mediaeval Hindu Kingdoms' or 'the Hindu period' (*c.* 647-1200 or 1300 A.D.). Here, it will be observed, there is a frank recognition of the insufficiency of the term 'Hindu period' to serve as a label for the Ancient history of India. But no attempt is made to substitute a more suitable title. Incidentally it may be remarked that no sufficient reasons exist for distinguishing the second and the third sub-periods under the titles 'Hindu India' and the 'Hindu period respectively.'[3] If this difference is made to rest on the incorporation of the Rajput ruling houses within the Hindu pale, which is the leading fact of the last sub-period, it may be urged that this was not a new phenomenon, but was paralleled in the earlier period by the admission of Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Kushans and others into the orthodox society. Equally unfortunate is the choice of the date of accession of the Mauryas as the dividing-line between Ancient and Hindu India. For whatever might be the significance of the dynastic revolution which substituted the Mauryas for the Nandas, no one will claim for it that it was attended for the first time with the diffusion of Hindu culture throughout the country.

Let us now turn to the second division of Indian History, the so-called 'Muhammadan period.' With very few exceptions, modern authors have applied the term to the interval of nearly five centuries between the conquest of Northern India by the

3 The designation 'The Hindu period' is also adopted by James Kennedy (*Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Chap. VIII) for the period 650-1200 A.D.

Muslim Turks and the downfall of the Mughal empire. There are, however, strong and weighty reasons against the use of the term in the way suggested. The first difficulty arises from the wide and indefinite connotation of the term Muhammadan which is indifferently applied to Arabs, Turks and Afghans on the one side and converts from Hinduism on the other. The principal objection, hwever, is based on the fact that it conveys an altogether erroneous impression of the period to which it is applied. It ignores the fact that during the centuries in question there existed side by side with the Muslim States numbers of independent Hindu kingdoms in different parts of the country. Some of the Hindu dynasties attained such importance that they presented a formidable barrier against the advance of the Islamic power and not unoften carried their arms into the enemy's country. Such were the powerful dynasties of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and the Gajapatis of Orissa, who preserved the independence of the eastern coast far down into the middle of the sixteenth century. Such, again, were the ruling houses of Rajputana, and especially the Guhilots of Mewar whose exploits earned for them the title of *Hindua Suraj*, i.e. 'the sun of the Hindus'. Such, lastly, was the empire of Vijayanagar which maintained for nearly three hundred years the line of the Tungabhadra and the Krishna against the assaults of the Muhammadan powers of the Deccan. Indeed there were certain parts of the country, which, owing to the difficulties of their communications or their remoteness or some other cause, were never completely subdued by the arms of Islam. This was the case with Assam and Nepal in the North, with the forest regions of the modern Central Provinces, Chota Nagpur Plateau

and Orissa Feudatory States in the middle, with Travancore and Cochin in the extreme South. Of still greater significance is the fact that the Islamic power in India was not maintained through the centuries at a steady level, but periodically suffered serious set-backs. In truth, we may distinguish in the history of this power two great periods of advance alternating with two other periods of decline. The first period opens with the advent of the vigorous Houses of Ghazni and Ghor who won for Islam the dominion over the richest and most extensive parts of Northern India. It reaches its culmination in the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq whose empire at its greatest extent (*c.* 1338-39) embraced twenty-four provinces extending from the Punjab to Mysore and the Coromandel coast. For more than two hundred years after this time the history of Muslim rule in India is, on the whole, written in decay. The mighty Sultanate of Delhi is broken up into fragments, while the invasion of the fierce Timur sucks the life-blood out of its last remnants. Meanwhile the stage is cleared for the revival of the Rajput power in the North and the rise of the powerful empire of Vijayanagar in the South. The second wave of Muslim advance breaks upon Northern India with the accession of Akbar, the real founder of the Mughal dynasty, in 1556. The advance thenceforth is on the whole steadily maintained till the latter part of the reign of Aurangzib (*c.* 1700). "Under him the Mughal empire reached its greatest extent and the largest single State ever known to India from the dawn of history to the rise of the British power was formed. From Ghazni to Chatgaon, from Kashmir to the Karnatak, the continent of India obeyed one sceptre and beyond this region in far off Ladak and Malabar the suzerainty of the

same ruler was proclaimed from the pulpit."[4] From the closing years of Aurangzib's reign onwards the Muhammadan power in India is at a low ebb. Gradually the empire of the Great Mogul is dissolved into fragments, of which only the dominions of the Nizams of Hyderabad attain any degree of importance. The devastating invasions of the Persian Nadir Shah and the Afghan Ahmad Shah Abdali not only drain the Mogul dominion of its last resources, but rob it of the province of the Punjab. The great province of Bengal, Behar and Orissa succumbs to the rising British power, while the adjoining State of Oudh is reduced to the position of its dependent ally. The heir of Aurangzib, driven from his capital, becomes for a time the pensionary of the Company. Meanwhile the hardy and active Marathas, roused to a sense of their unity by the genius of Shivaji break open their provincial barriers and spread their conquering hordes over the greater part of the country. Even the colossal disaster at Panipat fails to cripple them for any length of time, and they remain the most formidable indigenous power till they are outwitted by the diplomacy of Wellesley and thwarted by the arms of Wellington and Lake.

The foregoing arguments will make it clear that neither of the terms Hindu and Muhammadan is fit to serve as the title of the great divisions of Indian History. The same objections do not apply to the term British period for reasons which are sufficiently obvious. It therefore behoves us to consider whether we can profitably substitute more suitable terms for those which

4 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib,* Vol. 1, Introd. p. xi. This verdict, however, hardly does justice to the claims of the Maurya Empire under Aśoka, which rivalled, if not exceeded, the extent of Aurangzib's Empire.

we have been examining so far. Here we may apply the analogy of European History with its well-known divisions into Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern periods. There is a danger indeed in pressing the analogy too far. In Europe because of reasons into which we need not enter here, great movements have often modified the life of the people to its very core. But in India owing to the intense conservatism and passivity of the people and their imperviousness to all influences other than religious, even the great historical events (apart from religious movements) have failed till lately to touch the inner springs of their thought and action. Not without reason was invented the old adage of the 'Unchanging East'. Nevertheless from the point of view of the historian of India we can broadly distinguish (as some have already done) the counterparts of the three main divisions of European History. Between Ancient and Medieval India the line of division has sometimes been drawn at the death of Harṣa (*c.* 647 A.D.).[5] No sufficient reason exists for adopting this view, for the changes which followed the death of the great emperor—not excluding the rise of the Rajput dynasties and the regrouping of the States were not different in kind from the events of the earlier times. Equally inconclusive is the view[6] which makes the division bttween Ancient and Mediaeval India coincide with the rise of the Guptas. For the Gupta period, however,

5 Cf. Iswari Prasad, *History of Mediaeval India*, (Allahabad 1925). Mr. James Kennedy (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, Chap. VIII) gives the period 650-1200 A.C. the alternative title of the Mediaeval History of Northern India.

6 Cf. Sir John Marshall, (*Guide to Sanchi*, p. 7), F. J. Richards (*Indian Antiquary*, February, 1930).

eminent a *rôle* it may have played in the development of art and literature, cannot justly be regarded as the border-line between two great periods of Indian History. In truth like the Periclean Age of Athenian History with which it has been aptly compared, its function was not to open a new epoch, but to bring to a completion the influences that had been maturing during the preceding centuries. Nor can we subscribe to the view, supported as it is by high authority,[7] which finds in the establishment of the Kushan dynasty the much sought-for division between Ancient and Mediaeval India. For the Kushan empire in Northern India, however inspired by foreign influences, did not differ in its essential features from the preceding Indian empires. Indeed it seems to us to be most convenient to draw the dividing line between the two periods in the last years of the 12th and the early years of the 13th centuries in Northern India and almost exactly a century later in the South. Then was founded for the first time an extensive Muhammadan empire in the country. Of the contrast between these two periods—the one preceding and the other following the Muhammadan conquest—it is easy to form an exaggerated opinion. For it must be remembered that the new rulers owing to the paucity of their numbers and their lack of administrative capacity left the work of civil administration at first largely to the Hindu princes and chiefs owning a more or less definite alle-

7 Cf. Rapson, *Ancient India,* p. 147. This view is implicitly embodied in the scheme of chronological division adopted in the *Cambridge History of India* which gives its first volume comprising the period 'from the earliest times to about the middle of the first century A.D.' the significant title of Ancient India.

giance to the paramount power. It must also be admitted that the famous system of administration which was built up later by the genius of Sher Shah and Akbar was anticipated in all its leading features by the best Hindu sovereigns of earlier times. Even the growth of vernacular literature which has been acclaimed by a well-known historian[8] as one of 'the gifts of the Muslim Age to India', was not an innovation, as it was paralleled earlier by the development of the Pāli canonical and non-canonical literature of the Buddhists as well as the Ardha-Māgadhī and Apabhraṃśa canonical works of the Jainas. Nevertheless the Muslim conquest, because of the new influences which it introduced into the country, may fitly be called the harbinger of a new Age. With it came not only a new and fiercely monotheistic faith, but also new ideas of Government, new schools of jurisprudence, new languages and literatures with their canons of literary taste and models of style, new styles of architecture, a new code of social manners and new modes and fashions of living. These influences in course of time left a profound stamp upon the upper and educated classes of the Hindu population. Above all, the Muhammadan conquest brought a new factor into the complex mass of Indian humanity, a factor which owing to the inflexibility of its religious creed has retained to this day something of its exotic character.

We have selected the conquest of Shihabuddin Muhammad Ghori as a convenient landmark of the transition from Ancient to Mediaeval India. Like all great historical movements, however, this was a slow process which was spread through several

8 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *India through the Ages*, pp. 77-81.

centuries. Its beginnings may be traced to the conquest of Sindh (711-712 A.D.) by the Arabs, which drove a wedge of Muhammadan dominion into the country. Then came in succession the fall of the outworks of the Indian defence and the outposts of Hindu civilization in the Afghan highlands, the conquest of Peshawar by the Amir Sabuktigin, and the destructive inroads of his famous son Sultan Mahmud. Other signs of the coming change were the corruption of Buddhism, the growing rigidity of caste, the neglect of the art of warfare and the advance of monasticism. The victories of Shihabuddin carried forward, but did not complete, the transition from the Ancient to the Middle Ages.

Turning to the Modern period, we think we can most conveniently trace it from the administration of the Marquis of Wellesley[9] (1798-1804). The transition from Mediaeval to Modern India, like that from the Ancient to the Middle Ages, extends over a long period of time. Its beginnings may be carried back to Vasco de Gama's discovery of the Cape route in 1498, which for the first time brought a West-European power into direct contact with India. Among further steps leading to this movement may be mentioned the transfer of command of the Indian ocean from the Arabs to the Portuguese, the elimination of the French from the Indian stage in the Carnatic wars,

9 In his paper 'Periods in Indian History' (*Indian Antiquary*, February, 1930) to which reference has been made above, Mr. F. J. Richards suggests 1500 A.C. when 'the Sultanates gave place to the Mughals', as marking the transition from Mediaeval to Modern India. It is however difficult to accept this view since the advent of the Mughals did not bring in its train such fundamental changes as to make it the starting-point of a new Age.

the conquests of Bengal by Clive, and the wars and alliances of Warren Hastings. It was, however, left to Wellesley to plan and carry out those feats of diplomacy and warfare that made the British the paramount power in India except the Punjab. In trying to discover the specific features of the Modern period, we must, again, beware of the risk of exaggeration. Thus the system of administrative organisation which is one of the crowning triumphs of British rule in this country, however, enriched and perfected by the lessons of modern wisdom and experience, follows in the main the lines of the best administrations in the past, though we have in recent constitutional developments the promise of a more glorious future. And yet we must admit that the advent of the British rule has introduced a number of momentous changes which make it the herald of a new age—the Modern period of Indian History. It has broken down the isolation of the country to an extent undreamt of before. 'India has now been switched on to the main currents of the great moving world outside, and made to vibrate with every economic or cultural change there'.[10] Within the limits of the country itself the Railway, the Telegraph and the printing press combined with the influences of a common administration and system of education have helped to break down provincial barriers and created for the first time a truly national consciousness. Above all the net-work of schools and colleges, which is one of the principal gifts of British rule, has helped to sow the seeds of western ideas broadcast among the keenest and most intelligent section of the people. These ideas have fructified in the

10 Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *India through the Ages*, p. 94.

intellectual Renaissance which has not only opened to India the stores of Western learning and restored to her much of her lost cultural heritage, but has quickened into a new activity almost every branch of the national life.

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Additions and Corrections.

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119 *After* line 13 *add* Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśāstra* (II. 13) mentions Gauḍa among the sources of silver (*rūpyam*). But this seems to be a solitary reference lacking confirmation.

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